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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FISCAL CRISIS AND THE THREAT OF STRATEGIC CHANGE IN A HUMAN SERVICE ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF MANAGERIAL DECISIONS IN A COMMUNITY LIVING PROJECT FOR THE SEVERELY MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY DISABLED.

BY

JOEL R. CHRISTIE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

IN

HEALTH CARE PLANNING AND EVALUATION

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1988

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Joel R. Christie
Student's signature

3515 - 109 St, Edmonton Alberta
Student's permanent address
T6J 1C2

Date: April 22/88

Associated Economic Analysts Ltd.
10907 - 36 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, T6J 0B7. (403) 438 - 7342

Dr. Joel Christie,
3515 109 Street,
Edmonton, Alberta,
T6J 1C2.

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Reseach for acceptance, a thesis entitled FISCAL CRISIS AND THE THREAT OF STATEGIC CHANGE IN A HUMAN SERVICE ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF MANAGERIAL DECISIONS IN A COMMUNITY LIVING PROJECT FOR THE SEVERELY MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY DISABLED

submitted by Joel R. Christie

in a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Health Care Planning and Evaluation

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Supervisor

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Date: April 12, 1988

To my wife, Betty-Anne
whose love and support has
sustained me through
the completion of three degrees,

and to my parents for instilling in me
the desire and curiosity to start them.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the impact of a fiscal constraint on groups of organizational stakeholders. The resulting case study in a human service organization analyzes the organizational dynamics in a decentralized organization consisting of fourteen group homes for the severely mentally and physically handicapped vertically linked to a large public bureaucracy.

After an extensive literature review, Noel Tichy's theory of managing strategic change which is based on a distinction between the technical, political, and cultural systems of oganizations is used as the analytical framework for studying the effects of the threat of strategic change on managerial decisions.

An ethnographic data collection methodology utilizes the triangulation of qualitative data through participant observation notes, semi-structured personal interviews, and documentary analysis to develop an analysis of stakeholder perceptions (i.e. the operational, managerial and strategic level personnel as well as the parents/guardians and government bureaucrats).

Results indicated that although a strategic change did not occur, the threat of strategic change had similar effects on the organizational stakeholders. Analysis showed that initial misalignment within and between the technical, political and cultural systems was ultimately overcome through processes of identifying problems and re-establishing

certainty through re-designing the mission/strategy, organization structure and human resource management organizational components.

Variances in the perceptions of the effects of the fiscal restraint increased with the hierarchical distance between those in the three organizational levels (i.e. strategic, managerial and operational). This was attributed to two types of misalignment: 'expectational drifing which was a work socializational phenomenon occuring within the systems, and 'expectational rifting' which reflected problems of legitimation arising from misalignment between the systems.

The limitations of Tichy's perspective to address the reasons for the changes in the pressures within the milieu of human service organizations are also noted.

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INTRODUCTION

The literature describing the possible societal outcomes of transformation in advanced capitalism have ranged from pessimism to optimism. Critical perspectives such as that of Herbert Marcuse warned that the instrumental reasoning of positivistic scientific inquiry which allows man to control nature would become an end unto itself. It would dominate man and man's thinking by lulling him into a new conformism which Marcuse describes as "the happy consciousness" which is the "belief that the real is rational and the system delivers the goods" (Marcuse, 1964: 84). Similarly, as O'Connor (1973), Habermas (1973), and Offe (1984) warn, these trends and the social movements associated with them are indicators of the contradictions inherent in the evolving welfare states of western post industrial societies. Optimistic liberal interpretations such as Toffler's (1970, 1980) argue that signs of conflict are actually harbingers of a new post industrial utopia based on decentralization and a new stage of democracy.

Irrespective of whether the liberal or critical perspective is more valid, because of the shift from the manufacturing to service sector in post industrial society, 'reality' appears to be shifting from nature to the social world (Bell, 1973: 488). The actual outcome of our evolving society will therefore depend in large part on the responsiveness of the quinary industries (Foote and Hatt, 1953) which are involved in the refinement and extension of human capacities.

These industries are comprised of human service organizations which differ from the goods-oriented organizations in that their input of raw material are human beings and their general mandate is to maintain and improve the general well being and functioning of people.

According to Hasenfeld and English (1975: 4-6) these organizations are involved in two predominant functions - people-processing and people-changing. Those employed in people-processing organizations attempt to change their clients by conferring upon them a public status which reallocates them into a new set of social circumstances (e.g. the university admissions office, diagnostic clinics, etc). Those in people-changing organizations endeavor to alter directly the attributes or behavior of their clients through the application of various modification and treatment technologies (e.g. public schools, YMCA, prisons, hospitals, etc.).

A crucial question with these organizations is who decides what for whom (Christie, 1984; 1986). If the role of the service recipients and their advocates is limited to that of passive recipient to the diagnostic treatment or socialization skills of a knowledgeable elite (Offe, 1984: 278) then the two-class structure of the 'knowing' and 'ignorant', as suggested by Daniel Bell (1973), may prevail. If the service recipients, however, continue to strive for self-realization based on the holistic principles of the cultural realm, a conflict will arise between them and those adhering to the paternalistic notions underlying professionalism (Ritzer, 1973; Halmos, 1973; Larson, 1977). This is in part due to the status awarded those with special knowledge in post industrial society (Bell, 1973), and the individual attitude of the professional who "is likely to acquire some degree of conviction that his knowledge, expertise and professional approach set him apart from laymen" (Robinson, 1978: 21).

These conflicts imply that the environment in which human service organizations must develop and deliver their services is varying accordingly. This in turn, may require a restructuring of their organizational characteristics. The classical bureaucratic characteristics as identified by Weber (1978) may no longer be as relevant as they were during more stable times. For example, these organizations can no longer remain as closed rational systems which are unresponsive to the pressures of the organizational environment. The principle of "fixed and official jurisdictional areas" and the principle "office hierarchy in levels of graduated authority" (Weber 1978) must now be modified to incorporate the influences of these conflicting forces emanating from outside of the jurisdictional walls of the bureaucracy.

The evolution of current sociological and organizational theory reflects this change (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Closed rational systems theories which appeared to adequately explain and aid in the understanding of organizational dynamics in the past, have now given way to paradigms which characterize organizations as open rational or natural systems (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 5-37). For example, contingency theorists state that the structures of organizations are dependent on environmental variables such as size, technology, and uncertainty (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Woodward, 1965; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967; and Perrow, 1967). The task of the manager, then, must include changing and developing structures within the organization which efficiently and effectively deal with the environmental variables - thus changing management conception of effectiveness and efficiency.

The substantive content of effectiveness and efficiency for an organization may now not only change over time as environmental variables shift both in intensity and kind, but they also may be perceived differently by those in different groups within the organization itself who may be scanning different components of the organization environment. Most studies on organization change to date, however, utilize the manager's perception of organizational efficiency and effectiveness. Effectiveness is viewed as the degree to which the organizational goals are achieved; efficiency as the amount of resources used to produce a unit of output (Etzioni, 1964: 8).

According to Richard Daft (1982), most of the literature on organization change has furthered knowledge and theory by isolating variables and analyzing their association through a quantitative methodology based on statistical inferences. After examining articles appearing in Administrative Science Quarterly from 1959 to 1979, Daft (1980) has concluded that although the use of questionnaires and statistical analyses has been very effective for measuring well-designed characteristics of organizations (e.g. size, technology, and structure), the more complicated, illusive, and ambiguous organizational areas have been largely ignored. Areas such as innovation and change, intergroup relations, power and politics, and information and control require richer forms of research such as intensive case analyses, observation and open ended interviews in order to reveal insights about complex organizational processes through the provision of more exhaustive descriptions of organizations (Daft, 1982).

Andrew Pedigrew (1985), after reviewing English and European as well as American organization change theory, has concurred. According to Pedigrew,

> "Findings and theoretical developments in the field of organizational change are method-bound. For as long as we continue to conduct research on change which is ahistorical, acontextual, and aprocessual, which continues to treat the change programme as the unit of analysis and regard change as an episode divorced from the immediate and more distant context in which it is imbedded, then we will continue to develop inadequate descriptive theories of change which are ill-composed guides for action (Pedigrew, 1985: 15)."

According to these authors, the positivistic approach and methodology employed by the majority in this field needs to be complemented by a more holistic approach. However, many of the case studies done to date - such as Selznick's examination of the Tennessee Valley Authority (1966); Lipset, Trow, and Coleman's Union Democracy (1956); Blau's Dynamics of Bureaucracy (1955); Kaufman's The Forest Range (1960); Whyte's Street Corner Society (1943); and Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss' Boys in White (1961) - though rich in description have been primarily exploratory or inductive approaches which were based on an implicit conception of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and thus did not have theoretical approach to specify the domains of their models beforehand.

To achieve this, however, one must utilize a holistic theory - one which incorporates the major components and dynamics involved in organization change. Tichy's "TPC Theory" (Tichy, 1983) appears to provide such a conceptual framework by identifying the interactions within and between the technical, political, and cultural (TPC) systems in organizations.

Tichy's 'theory' is not a formal theory in the strict sense of the word. Instead, it consists of a set of structural and functional assumptions which may be used as a guide to collect and analyze environmental and organizational information. Tichy himself describes it as a "meta-theory" since it is based on an analysis of organizational problems or dilemmas that have been integrated into a conceptual scheme. This conceptual framework, however, does appear to provide a useful guide to the structuring of case studies - particularly studies on human service organizations. The impact of technical, political, and cultural pressures is even more pronounced with these types of organizations (Scott, 1983), since their performance criteria more diffused and intangible (Shortell and Wickizer, 1984: 135).

Tichy's "TPC Theory" has been used to analyze the impact of strategic change on for-profit organizations (Tichy, 1976), as well as fee-collecting non-profit organizations such as hospitals and health care centres in the United States (Tichy, 1977). The transferability and utility of this theoretical framework to government-run human service organizations which do not charge client fees, has not yet been ascertained.

This study utilizes Tichy's conceptual framework as a means of describing and analyzing the impact of fiscal restraint on a government-run human service organization - Community Living Services (C.L.S.) - in a metropolitan area in the province of Alberta. It focuses on the manner in which those representing the various levels of that organization responded to a negative environmental change (e.g. budgetary reductions) which threatened to change the mission and strategy of the organization which had developed in an environment rich in resources.

This research also advances understanding of the nature of the perceived impact of managerial decision-making in a human service organization which is vertically linked to a larger bureaucracy, during this period of exogenously induced change. As well, the study examines pertinent issues that must be dealt with in situations where client-advocates have been invited to participate in an organized way in the delivery and planning of services for their children, and the role these advocates can play when they organize around mutual concerns. This is particularly important due to the high currency given to the policy of client participation of late. For example, the strategic plan for the Department of Social Services includes a recommendation for major policy changes towards greater client empowerment in a manner supportive of that department's drive towards greater productivity and less intrusive delivery of services (Alberta Social Services & Community Health, 1986: 5).

In part one (chapter 1-3) the evolution of functionalist organization theory is examined. The theoretical underpinnings of both human service organizations and Tichy's 'TPC Theory' on managing strategic change are discussed in the latter sections of part one. In Part two the methodology and historical context of the empirical research are delineated. The analyses of the results and the implications for the specific organization are examined in Part three (chapters 6 to 10). Finally, in Part 4 (chapter 11 and 12) the conclusions of this study and the ramifications for other human service organizations are explored in the context of evolving post industrial society.

PART 1: COMPLEX ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN SERVICES

Introduction

The purpose of this Part is to contextualize Tichy's theoretical framework by examining its links to previous functionalist organization theories and determining the appropriateness of this framework to analyze impacts and changes in human service organizations. This part is divided into three sections. Various functionalist perspectives of organization and change theory are reviewed in chapter 1. Theories related to human service organizations are described in chapter 2. Finally, a review of Tichy's "TPC Theory" of managing strategic change and brief examination of this framework's relation to organization theory and the theories of human services organizations are examined in chapter 3.

CHAPTER 1

PARADIGMS OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

The purpose of a definition is to aid in distinguishing one entity from other entities. Definitions "identify" the "ingredients that constitute one kind of event rather than another" (Nettler, 1982: 65). These "ingredients" consist of constructs which are linked to various ontological and epistemological assumptions (Burrell and Morgan, 1982: 1-9). These assumptions, along with one's assumptions regarding human nature, provide the basis for the "general ways of seeing the world"

(Abercrombie, et al.: 151). Thomas Kuhn has identified this frame of reference as one's "paradigm," which he describes in part as "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on, shared by the members of a given community" (Kuhn, 1970: 175). The concepts and constructs used in a definition distinguish entities within a particular paradigm. The definition of formal organizations, then, must distinguish organizations from other types of social forms as perceived within the various sociological paradigms.

Burrell and Morgan (1982) have identified two dimensions by which they distinguish four sociological and organizational paradigms. The first dimension focuses on how theories describe reality. This dimension ranges from the subjective approach to social sciences, which views reality as ontologically nominalistic, epistemologically anti-positivistic (i.e., views knowledge as something which has to be personally experienced), views human nature as voluntaristic and utilizes idiographic methods (i.e., clinical and interpretive) to investigate and obtain knowledge about the social world. At the other extreme of this continuum lies the objectivistic approach to social science which is ontologically realistic (i.e., views reality as external to the subject), epistemologically positivistic (i.e., views knowledge as being 'hard', real, and capable of being transmitted) views human nature as being determined by the environment, and is methodologically nomothetic (i.e., concerned with generalizing explanations).

The second dimension focuses on the nature of change within society. At one extreme of the continuum of this dimension is the 'order' or 'integrationalists' view of society which emphasises stability, integration, functional coordination, and consensus. Change from this perspective is seen as evolutionary as society, like a biological organism, strives towards unity and cohesiveness by establishing and maintaining an equilibrium among its sub-systems. The other extreme of this continuum is the 'conflict' or coercive view of society, which emphasizes change, conflict, disintegration, and coercion. Since the purpose of change is to emancipate man from the social structures which limit and stunt his potential for development, change is viewed as revolutionary. The basic concern is to find explanations for radical change, deep-seated structural conflict, modes of domination, and structural contradiction, which these theorists perceive as characterizing modern society. It, therefore, focuses on what is possible or what ought to be rather than what is (Burrell and Morgan, 1982: 10-20).

The figure below portrays how Burrell and Morgan (1982) formulate the four paradigms from these two dimensions.

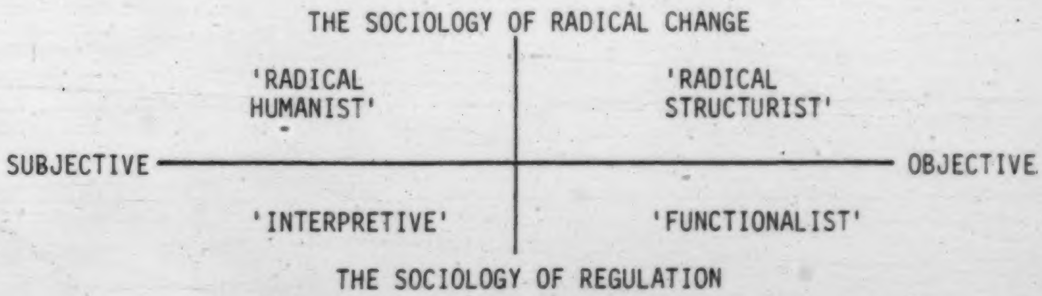
THE SOCIOLOGY OF RADICAL CHANGE
'RADICAL HUMANIST'
'RADICAL STRUCTURIST'
SUBJECTIVE
OBJECTIVE
'INTERPRETIVE'
'FUNCTIONALIST'
THE SOCIOLOGY OF REGULATION

Figure 1. Four Paradigms for the Analysis of Social Theory (Adapted from Burrell and Morgan, 1982; p. 22)

Each of the four paradigms cited in the figure above are based on different meta-theoretical assumptions underwriting their frame of reference, mode of theorizing, and modus operandi of the social theorists operating within them.

The purpose of Burrell and Morgan's figure is to emphasis the commonality of perspective, which binds the work of each group of theorists together in the sense that they are approaching social theory within the bounds of the same problematic. This does not mean to imply a complete unity of thought. In fact, Burrell and Morgan (1982: 23-37) point out that much debate occurs between theorists within each paradigm. However, each paradigm does "have an underlying unity in terms of its basic and often 'taken for granted' assumptions, which separate a group of theorists in a very fundamental way from theorists located in other paradigms. The 'unity' of the paradigm thus derives from reference to alternative views of reality, which lie outside its boundaries and which may not necessarily even be recognized as existing" (Burrell and Morgan, 1982: 23-24).

Those utilizing the radical humanist paradigm view reality as being socially created and socially sustained. They view the process of reality creation as being influenced by psychic and social processes "which channel, constrain, and control the minds of human beings, in ways which alienate them from the potentialities inherent in their true nature as humans." (Morgan, 1980: 609). Radical humanists are concerned with discovering how humans can link thought and action (Praxis) as a means of transending their alienation.

The radical structuralists also view society as a potentially dominating force. However reality is seen "as existing on its own account independently of the way in which it is perceived and reaffirmed by people in every day activities", (Morgan, ±80:69). They are concerned with understanding the intrinsic tensions and contradictions which exist in this reality and the way in which those in power in society seek to hold them in check through various modes of domination. Praxis is viewed as a means of transending this domination (Gramsci, 1971).

Those utilizing the functionalist paradigm also view society as having a concrete, real existence. But functionalists perceive a systematic character in society which in oriented to produce an ordered and regulated state of affairs. "Behavior is always seen as being contextually bound in a real world of concrete and tangible social relationships" (1980: 608). Functionalists therefore believe in the possibility of an objective and value free social science. They are concerned with understanding society in away which generates useful empirical knowledge. The orientation of the functionalists, then, is primarily regulative and pragmatic.

Those operating within the interpretive paradigm also believe that there is a underlying pattern and order within the social world however, since they view social reality as not existing in any concrete sense; but rather being a product of the subjective and inter-subjective experience of individuals, they do not perceive the establishment of an objective social science as an attainable end. "Science is viewed as a network of language games, based upon sets of subjectively determined concepts and rules, which the practitioners of science invent and follow" (Morgan, 1980: 609). Science then, is understood from the stand point of the participant in action, rather than the observer.

In this research, a reduction in the fiscal resources available to an organization are viewed as a pressure to which the organization must respond and adapt. A major assumption underlying the study, therefore, is that change within society is primarily evolutionary as adaptations are made to re-establish equilibrium among the various components of society. These exogenously generated pressures and viewed as realities with which organizational sub-systems must cope.

The behavior of organizations is viewed, in this research, as being contextually bound in the real world of concrete and tangible social relationships which exist and comprise the organizational environment. Though the study also attempts to identify the social realities as identified by various categories and factors within the organization, the primary orientation will be to view the social realities of these individuals from an objective position. The functionalist paradigm, therefore, appears to provide the most appropriate perspective for the organizations focus of this study.

A secondary orientation will be used to discuss the reasons underlying the changes in the societal pressures to which organizations must adapt. In the last section of this paper, this issue will be discussed using critical theory to examine contradictions within the welfare state of western post industrial society which may underly these changes in societal forces.

Functionalist Approaches: Organization and Change Theories

Current mainstream organizational theory appears to fall within the 'functionalist' paradigm where organizations are viewed as objective realities which are evolving to meet specific purposes. Scott (1981: 127-132) and Kaluzny and Shortell (1983: 5-37) have summarized the organizational theory that falls within this paradigm as comprising four different perspectives created by two types of approaches -- the closed vs. open system approach (which deals with the degree to which the organizational environment is perceived as impacting on the organization) and the rational vs. natural approach (which focuses on the degree to which organizations are viewed as rational structures or organic systems). Figure 2 below outlines the perspectives created by these approaches.

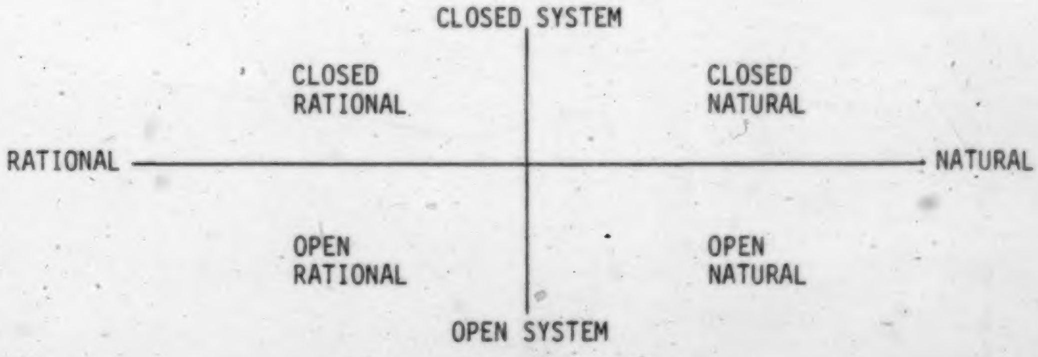

Figure 2. Organizational Perspectives within the Functionalist Paradigms (adapted from Kaluzny & Shortell, 1983)

In short, the closed system approach is based on the assumption that the most important aspect of organizations have to do with their internal structures and processes which are relatively isolated from the external environment. The assumption of those espousing the open system approach is that the development of organizations is best understood by taking into account the external environment, which is perceived as centrally influencing the organization's structure, process, and performance by the nature of the inputs from the environment and the outputs produced. The rational-system approach is based on the assumption that the means of the organization are rationally designed to attain measurable goals and objectives as measured by explicitly-stated criteria. Those adhering to the natural-system approach assume that goals cannot be explicitly agreed upon or measured, but rather that organizations consist of coalitions of individuals concerned with their own growth and development and the basic survival of the organization -- stressing the importance of unplanned, emergent, and spontaneous processes and events that occur in the setting (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983).

The Closed Rational System

The closed rational system approach involves the classical bureaucratic theoretical position which dominated organizational theory from the turn of the century to the late 1950's. These theorists include Frederick W. Taylor (1911), Luther Gulick and L. Urwick (1937), Max Weber (1947), J.E. Mooney (1947), Henri Fayol (1949), and A. Gouldner (1954).

These theorists basically conceived organizations as rational tools designed to achieve pre-set ends. They all ignored or minimized the effects on the organization of the limitations and opportunities posed on it by its connections with the wider environment. For example, Frederick Taylor, who developed his "scientific task management" approach as an alternative to the "initiative and incentive" managerial philosophy of the day, proposed the development of a science which involved "the establishment of many rules, laws, and formulae, which replaced the judgement of the individual workmen and which can be effectively used only after having been systematically recorded, indexed, etc." (Taylor, 1911 in Grusky and Miller, 1981: 59). As noted by Thompson (1967: 5), this assumes that "goals are known, tasks are repetitive, output of the production process somehow disappears, and resources in uniform qualities are available." Thompson also notes that Fayol and Gulick and Urwick assume that ultimately a master plan for the organization is known against which specialization, departmentalization, and control are determined (1967: 5).

In his description of the ideal type bureaucracy, Max Weber also concentrated on the internal workings of the organization. For example, Weber described the characteristics of the bureaucracy as follows:

> "I. There is the Principle of fixed and official jurisdictional areas, which are generally ordered by rules; that is, by laws or administrative regulations ....
>
> II. The principles of office hierarchy and of levels of graded authority mean a firmly ordered system of super- and subordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones ....
>
> III. The management of the modern office is based upon written documents ("the files"), which are preserved in their original or draft form ....
>
> IV. Office management ... usually pre-supposes thorough and expert training ....
>
> V. When the office is fully developed, official activity demands the full working capacity of the official, irrespective of the fact that his obligatory time in the bureau may be firmly delimited ....
>
> VI. The management of the office follows general rules, which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive, and

> which can be learned .... (Weber, translated by Gerth and Mills, 1973: 196-204)."

Organizational Issues

Since all of these theorists focus on the organization itself, they perceived organizational efficiency and effectiveness as being obtained through the matching of the technological means to achieve the stated ends. Efficiency and effectiveness were maximized through a hierarchically-ordered chain of positions and specific procedures. Conflict was viewed as disruptive. Integration and coordination was attained through the appropriate structural mechanisms and appropriate departmentalization, hierarchy, and the specification of rules and procedures (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 26-28).

Organizational Change

Within this perspective, organizational change is perceived in terms of the ideal type. This is achieved through a rational process whereby the organizational design facilitates the tasks to be accomplished with a minimum of cost. In fact, further bureaucratization and rationalization seemed to Weber an almost inescapable fate with "all economic enterprises run[ning] on modern lines, rational calculation [being] manifest every state ... the performance of each individual worker ... mathematically measured, each man become [ing] a little cog in the machine and aware of this, his one preoccupation is whether he can become a bigger cog" (Weber in J.P. Mayer, 1956: 126.). Thus Weber viewed the new world of rationalized efficiency as turning into "a monster that threatens to de-humanize its creators" (in Coser, 1977: 232).

The natural extension of the closed rational system, then is a society which becomes an "iron cage" since, according to Weber, "once fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which is the hardest to destroy" (Weber, 1968: 987).

The Closed Natural System

The conception of the closed natural system originated with the empirical research of Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), who founded the Human Relations school of thought. They noted that "many of the actually existing patterns of human interaction have no representation in the formal organization .... Too often it is assumed that the organization of a company corresponds to a blue print plan or organizational chart. Actually, it never does" (Ibid.: 559). The early works of Chester Barnard (1938) and Roethlisberger and Dickson's (1939) studies of Hawthorne Western Electric emphasized the importance of the individual and the informal system within organizations. Other authors in this area include Douglas McGregor (1960), Chris Argyris (1966), and Renisis Likert (1967), all of whom emphasized the intrinsic self-actualizing aspects of work.

Organizational Issues

This human relations approach focuses more attention on behavior and the complex interconnections between the normative and behavioral structures of organizations. According to this position, organizations achieve efficiency by integrating individual aspirations with organizational goals through involving workers in decision-making;

effectiveness is measured in terms of individual satisfaction, as well as profit, growth, and quality production. Conflict, though viewed as dysfunctional, is to be managed and confronted openly when it does occur. Integration and coordination are achieved through informal systems of relations among the workers.

Organizational Change

From this perspective organizational change focuses on behavioral change, which is accommodated through changes in the informal as well as the formal structures (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 21-29). Unlike the rational system which stresses the normative structure of organizations, the closed natural system places more emphasis on the behavioral structure within the organization. For example, Argyris and Schon (1978) define organizational change as behavior change which occurs through learning when a "mis-match" occurs between a person's intentions and outcomes, or when learning occurs when an organization achieves what it intended (i.e., there is a "match" between and organization's design for action and the actuality or outcome).

Argyris distinguishes between "single-looped" learning, which involves behavior changes that do not also require changes in values and other "governing variables," and "double-looped" learning, which involves behavior changes that do require such value change (Argyris, 1982: 48-51). According to Argyris, it is individuals acting as agents of organizations and not the organizations themselves that produce the behavior that leads to learning. Organizations, however, "can create conditions that may significantly influence what individuals frame as the problem, design as a solution, and produce as action to solve a problem" (1982: 48).

The Open Rational System

Beginning in the late 1950's, the relationship between the organizational environment and the organization came under study. Organizations were presumed to design their structures rationally within the context of environmental effects. Scott (1981: 130-131) has argued that these studies consisted as two sub-types: (1) those comparative studies which tried to explain differences among organizations in their formal structures as it relaxes to certain environmental influences; and (2) those studies which tried to determine how an organization can function rationally given that it is open to the uncertainties of its environment.

Examples of the first subtype include the work of Udi (1959), Woodward (1965), Pugh and colleagues (1969), and Blau (1970) who used a comparative methodology where the units of analysis were the organizations themselves rather than the individuals or subgroups within them. In these studies, the formal organizational structure was viewed as the dependent variable and environmental variables such as size, technology, and uncertainty were perceived as the independent variables. Examples of this second sub-type of studies is represented in the work of the organization design theorists, such as Galbraith (1973), Swinth (1974), Perrow (1970), Katz and Kahn (1966), and Thompson (1967). They viewed managers as rationally employing two broad strategies to deal with environmental uncertainties. "Buffering techniques" (e.g. coding, stockpiling, leveling, forecasting, and growth) were used in an attempt to seal off their technical core from the influence of environmental disturbances; and "bridging techniques" (e.g. bargaining, contracting, cooperatives, joint ventures, mergers, associations, governmental corrections and institutional linkages) to enhance security by increasing the number and variety of linkages with competitions and exchange patterns (Scott, 1981: 179-206).

Organizational Issues

In short, survival, not efficiency, is the overall objective. To be effective, the organization must take into consideration political as well as economic transactions in order to survive. Conflict is viewed as a natural consequence of the internal negotiations over power as the organization endeavors to balance internal political considerations while meeting the requirements of the task environment. The informal system of relationships among individuals and competing groups are the main focus for social integration, motivation, and coordination within the organization as coalitions develop and become dominant through negotiations and bargaining. Thus, managers must endeavor to manage both the organization's internal structures and processes, as well as the organizations environment (Shortell and Kaluzney, 1983: 25-29). Leaders in the organization must, therefore, be pro-active as well as reactive in both their intra- and inter-organizational environments.

From this perspective, the effectiveness of an organization becomes a social-political question (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978: 11). Survival is difficult because the environment has become increasingly complex and politicized (Scott, 1981: 131). Some types of organizations operate in highly institutionalized environments in which it is more important to conform to externally imposed rules than to produce outputs efficiently (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), while other organizations operate in environments in which goals are ambiguous and technologies are unclear (March and Olsen, 1976). The power processes within this perspective are very complex since they may involve possible alliances both within the organization as well as with those external to the organization as the organization itself endeavors to survive.

Briefly, these contingency/decision theorists view organizational efficiency as depending on the nature of the tasks involved, the people involved, and the environmental circumstances. Effectiveness, in addition, not only depends on the quality of the decisions made under uncertainty, but also emphasizes goal attainment as organizations expand or change their goals to meet the new demands from the environment. In this approach, conflict is not necessarily viewed as dysfunctional since it can promote creativity and innovation, allowing the organization to attend to different goals at different times -- as long as disruptive conflict is minimized. Social integration is viewed as including both intrinsic and extrinsic factors which contribute to job satisfaction. The emphasis is to get people to function in their role and to understand each other's roles. The interdependence of tasks in more specialized organizations creates a need for coordination. This coordination occurs through both formal committees and task forces, as well as through the informal network. Since adaptation to the environment is crucial to understanding organizational behavior, the organization must engage in search procedures, deal with uncertainty, and structure itself to meet the demands of the environment by continually "negotiating" with its environment (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 22-29).

Organizational Change

According to the open rational approach, organizational change can occur from within or without the organization -- depending on the nature of tasks, people, and the environment. For, example according to Perrow, "manipulating the structure, analyzing the goals and grasping the nature of the environment are more practical and efficient ways of dealing with organizational problems then trying to change human behavior directly ...." (Perrow, 1970: vii).

Kaluzny and Hernandez (1983) have identified three explicit models of change based on the work of Alison (1971) and Elmore (1978). The three approaches are:

(1) the rational model, which assumes that organizational performance can be defined unambiguously and that activities within the organization can be planned or systematically effected to enhance the various aspects of performance;

(2) the resource dependency model, which considers the effects of environment on internal organizational processes and the manner in which the organization adapts to and manages its environment; and

(3) the population-ecology model, which views organizations and their change as a result of an unfolding of larger events within the environment and external factors as selecting those organizational characteristics that best fit the environment.

Since the open rational approach views change in organizations as a rational process by which the organization meets the needs, opportunities, and limitations generated in the environment by adapting its structure accordingly, three types of change are perceived.

(1) Technical change involves some modification in the means by which the normal and usual activities of the organization are carried out;

(2) adjustive change involves a change in the organizational goals and not in the essential means; and

(3) adaptive change involves change in both the means the organization uses to reach its end and also in the end themselves (Kaluzny and Veney, 1977: 14).

Kaluzny has identified four basic stages in the change process.

(1) Recognition or diagnoses of a problem by organizational participants who perceive a gap between what the organization is currently doing and what it should and could be doing;

(2) the identification of a possible course of action to narrow the gap between action and the desired performance;

(3) implementation of this action within an organization; and

(4) adoption of the implemented change (Kaluzny and Hernandez, 1983: 387).

These stages are not necessarily sequential, since more problems may be recognized than solutions identified, more solutions may be identified than are actually implemented, and more solutions may be implemented than are finally adopted (see Kaluzny, Warren, and Zelman, 1982: 212).

Organizational change within the open rational system is viewed from three perspectives.

(1) The behavioral process perspective, where managers "seek to re-align interpersonal relationships based upon a normative definition of the social-psychological conditions required for appropriate system functioning" (Kaluzny and Hernandez, 1983: 389);

(2) the structural perspective which views the structure of organizations as the primary factor involved in organizational change (1983: 393); and

(3) the contingency perspective which recognizes that the internal structural and process characteristics that are appropriate to facilitate change will vary depending upon the nature of the tasks being performed (Wieland and Bradford, 1981), the type of change or innovation being considered and its attributes (Becker, 1970; Nathanson and Morlock, 1980; Meyer, 1982), the type of organization initiating change, and the stage of the change or innovation process (see Kaluzny and Hernandez: 397-403).

In each of these perspectives, organizational change occurs when a performance gap is perceived between how the organization is performing and how the managers view the organization should be performing. Change follows a rational process of problem diagnosis, identification of the possible courses of action, implementation of one course of action, implementation of one or more solutions, and adoption of a final solution. The entire process is monitored and the results evaluated against explicitly-stated criteria. This process usually targets either the behavior of individuals (organizational behavior) or the structure of tasks and relations within the organization (organizational design) as the main focus for the change.

The contingency perspective focuses attention on the relationship between the sub-units of an organization and the task environments in which it must operate to ensure that the organizational behavior and structure are adequately compatible with the requirements of the various environments. All resources -- both human and material -- are viewed as elements of the organization which can be rationally changed and manipulated for the best interests of the organization. In other words, what is good for the organization is good for its resources.

In short, those applying the open rational system approach to organizational change view this change as a rational process towards ends which are determined or influenced by external as well an internal factors. The change, which may be technical, adjustive and/or adaptive, undergoes four basic stages culminating in its adoption, and may be viewed from behavioral, structural, or contingency perspectives.

The Open Natural System

The natural open system emphasizes the maintenance of the organization rather than the rational attainment of goals. Similar to that of a biological organism, the goal of the organization is to successfully recruit resources from its environment in order to survive. The structure of the organization itself is viewed as a result of the organizational participants' political struggles for influence and power over these resources, rather than solely as a part of rational organizational design for the purposes of goal attainment (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 25). Proponents of this approach include the strategic contingency, political negotiation, and resource dependence approaches of Hickson et al. (1971), March and Olsen (1976), Pfeffer (1978), and Tushman and Nadler (1978). It also includes the "Population Ecology" approach of Meyer (1977), Hannan and Freeman (1977), and Aldrich (1979).

This 'survival-of-the-fittest' approach suggests that over time the environment selects out certain organizations for 'success' or 'failure' since organizations have only a limited ability to adapt to environmental pressures. Thus, when environmental pressures increase, only the stronger, more dominant organizational forms survive. A key feature of their survival is their ability to find certain "niches" where they enjoy a comparative advantage over their competitors in the changing circumstances of the marketplace (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 25).

Organizational Issues

Survival then, not efficiency, is the overall objective. To be effective, the organization must take into consideration political as well as economic transactions in order to survive. Conflict is viewed as a natural consequence of the internal negotiations over power as the organization endeavors to balance internal political considerations while meeting the requirements of the task environment. The informal system of relationships among individuals and competing groups are the main focus for social integration, motivation, and coordination within the organization as coalitions develop and become dominant through negotiation and bargaining. Thus, managers must endeavor to manage both the organization's internal structures and processes, as well as the organization's environment (Shortell and Kaluzney, 1983: 25-29). Leaders in the organization therefore must, be pro-active as well as reactive in both their intra-and inter-organizational environments.

From this perspective, the effectiveness of an organization becomes a socio-political question (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978: 11). Survival is difficult because the environment has become increasingly complex and politicized (Scott, 1981: 131). Some types of organizations operate in highly institutionalized environments in which it is more important to conform to externally imposed rules than to produce outputs efficiently (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), while other organizations operate in environments in which goals are ambiguous and technologies are unclear (March and Olsen, 1976). The power processes within this perspective are very complex since they may involve possible alliances both within the organization as well as with those external to the organization as the organization itself endeavors to survive.

Organizational Change

The purpose of organizational change within this perspective, then, is to enable the organization to survive. Pressures for change come about both through external demands and internal political adjustments to those demands (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 27).

The allocation of power becomes a critical element of change. Power within the organization must be employed in such a way that the organization is perceived by the members of society as responding to the needs it was designed to meet (Scott, 1981: 291-336). According to Aldrich (1979), an examination of the historical record by sociologists, historians, anthropologist, and others reveals the importance of these community and societal perceptions to the inception and survival of organizations. "Social movements, changes in societal values, cross-societal diffusion of innovations, and the incorporation of peripheral areas into the world capitalist system (Wallerstein, 1974) have had major impacts on the production of new types of organizations and the transformation of old ones" (Aldrich, 1979: 21). For example, many of the largest and most important United States government agencies were created in a burst of activity during the 1930's, apparently as a response to the crisis of the Great Depression (Grafton, 1975).

Once organizations are established, however, they may continue to remain in their original area of production, adjusting incrementally to the various demands of the task environments, or they may use the power resources of the organization as a means of meeting entirely different societal needs ("transformation"). For example, the Young Men's Christian Association was transformed from a religiously-oriented social movement to a youth service organization after being transplanted from London to the United States (Zald, 1970). According to Aldrich, "the greater the identification of leaders or managers with the rewards of their position as opposed to the goals or output of the organization, the more open they are to the changes enhancing the survival of their organization. Transformation is one possible outcome from this commitment, and it thus need not be a 'planned' change" (Aldrich, 1979: 217). However, transformation as opposed to incremental change, is not an option open to all organizations because opportunities within their environmental 'niches' are limited by the availability of resources and the state of existing technology (Aldrich, 1979: 217).

Organizational Change according to this approach, then, involves internal contingency adjustments or political negotiation and accommodation. However, since those who can most influence the type, pace, and direction of change at one point in time may not be most influential at another point in time as the organization's environment changes accordingly (Shortell and Kaluzny, 1983: 27), change is not perceived as occurring in a planned, rational manner.

The exponents of all four of the above perspectives view organizations as realities which exist external to individuals and which evolve either rationally or naturally towards either an ideal type or in response to internal and external pressures. In general, they define organizations as social entities or collectivities that have developed formal procedures for regulating relations between the members and their activities (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1984: 91).

CHAPTER 2

HUMAN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Types

Human service organizations have been distinguished from other types of organizations by their primary function "to define or alter the person's behavior, attributes, and social status in order to maintain or enhance his well-being ..." (Hasenfeld and English, 1975: 1).

According to Hasenfeld and English (1975), these organizations are differentiated from other bureaucracies by the fact that their input of raw material are human beings with specific attributes, their production outputs are persons processed or changed in a pre-determined manner, and their general mandate is that of "service"; that is, to maintain and improve the general well-being and functioning of people.

In order to fill this mandate, management in each organization identifies a target clientele and the type of services that will be delivered. Thus, the nature of the clients served and the type of service provided are crucial for the understanding of these organizations.

Hasenfeld and English (1975: 4-6) have divided human service organizations into four types, depending on the types of clients served and the predominant functions (services) delivered. Clients are viewed as ranging from normal functioning to malfunctioning, and services as ranging from people-processing to people-changing. The following table gives examples of these types.

		PREDOMINANT FUNCTION	
		People Processing	People Changing
TYPE OF CLIENTS	Normal Functioning	Type I University Admissions Office	Type II CLIENTS Public School Y.M.C.A.
	Malfunctioning	Type III Juvenile Court Diagnostic Clinic	Type IV Prison Hospital

Table 1. A Typology of the Function and Domain of Human Service Organizations (adapted from Hasenfeld & English, 1975: 5)

The categorization of the normalacy of the clients served by an organization (though somewhat problematic since the client group may view their normalacy different from the public at large) reveals a fundamental problem that human service organizations encounter in defining their domain -- dependency on a public definitions regarding the degree of "normalacy" of the clients served (Hasenfeld, 1975).

Hasenfeld (1972) has also differentiated two predominate functions of human service organizations -- people-processing and people-changing. Those in people-changing organizations endeavor to alter directly the attributes or behavior of their clients through the application of various modification and treatment technologies. Those in people-processing organizations attempt to change their clients by conferring upon them a public status and reallocating them in a new set of social circumstances through the utilization of a classification-disposition .system. Those in this latter category of organizations are the gate-keepers which may provide a triage function for the people-changing organizations.

Vinter (1963) has identified two major types of people-changing organizations -- socialization and treatment agencies. The socialization organizations seek to prepare individuals for adequate performance of their social roles. It is generally assumed that these persons are motivated to change and that the essential task is to provide appropriate learning opportunities for them as the move along normal development gradients. This is similar to the type II category above. Treatment organizations, according to Vinter, endeavor to resolve problems of deviance. The clients are regarded as possessing defective attributes or as improperly motivated and oriented. Their behavior is disapproved and viewed as abnormal. This is similar to the type IV organization in Table 1 above.

The goals of both types of human service organizations are highly normative. The classification and disposition of clients of the people-processing organizations require a large judgemental component; while the relinquishment of non-conformist pattern of conduct, the disapproval of the client's values, and the perceived deviancy of the identity of the client assumes a knowledge of the public's norms.

This large normative component, which underlies the definition of the goals for human service organizations, the utilization of technologies which rely heavily on individual judgement and a satisfactory client-staff relationship, the strong influence of the social milieu of the clients (Hasenfeld and English, 1975: 100), all increase the influence of the organizational environment on human service organizations. In addition, most of these organizations are non-profit and typically deficit-operating agencies. Consequently, the ability of most human service organizations to produce 'profit' which can then be used to purchase extra resources is normally non-existent particularly those organizations that focus on persons who do not have the ability to earn an income. Thus, these organizations are likely to be dependent on external sources for the procurement of their resources, creating a strong state of dependency on components of their external environment. The open systems approaches of organizational theory, therefore, appear more appropriate as a means to describe and analyze these organizations.

The unique aspects of human service organizations are delineated in the following areas:

(1) goal definition,
(2) raw material, and
(3) technology.

Goal Definition

The output goals of human service organizations are problematic and ambiguous (Hasenfeld and English, 1975: 9). The goals are primarily commitments to certain values, norms, and ideologies, rather than a concensus as to the 'business the organization is in.' In fact, the expectations of the organization from the various components of the task environment may well be in conflict. For example, the client population may have expectations of the organization which may partially contradict the expectations of the funding agencies. This may result in an organization pursuing multiple goals to appease the conflicting interests. For example, Vinter and Sarri (1966) studied the influence of competing groups on the definition of the goals for a juvenile court. The police, public schools, professional and humanitarian citizen groups, the legislators, and parents all had different expectations of the juvenile court.

Pursuing multiple goals can result in problems of internal integration, as well as increasing goal displacement (Perrow, 1961) within the organization. If, on the other hand, the definition of the organization's output is limited in accordance with the expectation of the interest group upon which it is most dependent (for example, its funding source), the freedom of the organization to respond to new exigencies may be narrowed (Hasenfeld and English, 1975: 11).

Raw Material

Since human service organizations either change or process people, their raw material are human beings, each of whom may have different expectations and values. According to Levin and Roberts (1976), clients create the need for the service. This need occurs when the client's level of functioning becomes significantly at variance with his standard of functioning (1976: 19). As well, the client's level of functioning may also be defined via the judgement of professional staff who themselves may have different orientations and values (Hasenfeld and English, 1975; Ritzer, 1977; Larson, 1977; Johnson, 1972; Illich, 1976; Friedson, 1971, 1985) which influence their definition of the client's ability to manage these needs (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958). This may put the clients at a distinct disadvantage, forcing them to engage in protective strategies (i.e., games -- see Berne, 1972), take their business elsewhere (i.e., 'exit') or voice their concerns via the political or legal process (Hirschman, 1970).

The tasks, orientation, and standards for each of these professions are established and monitored by professional associations external to the human service organization itself (Blau and Scott, 1962; Hershey, in Sommers, 1969; Freidson, 1970; Scott, 1982) and also may be at odds with the bureaucratic orientation of the organization (Blau, 1956: 74-79).

Ideally, the human service organization will be perceived as satisfying the needs of both clients and members or the organization (Benveniste, 1977: 50-58). To achieve this, the organization must maintain an ideological system which provides its staff with reference points which aid them in coping with the inevitable moral components of their decision-making processes (Goffman, 1961). This is a function of both the organization's stage of development (Perrow, 1961; Greimer, 1972) and the direction set by the executive leaders of the organization through the definition of its mission (Selznick, 1959) -- though some question the effectiveness of this leadership in really changing the organization (eg., Jansen, 1978; Whyte, Jr., 1956; Scott and Hart, 1979: 161-177).

Technology

The technology of human service organizations is usually indeterminant. It consists of procedures designed to transform the raw material from one state to another in a pre-determined manner (Hasenfeld and English, 1975). In these organizations the outcomes are somewhat intangible (since they depend to a large degree on the perceptions of the client group and staff), the degree of stability and invariability of the 'raw material' is low, and the degree of completeness regarding the knowledge about cause-effect relations in the 'raw material' is incomplete (1975: 13). The technology in human service organizations, therefore, is mainly non-routine (Perrow, 1967, 1970; Daft, 1983: 158-199) and thus requires professional expertise and judgement. This, in turn, requires compliance by the client (Etzioni, 1961; Hasenfeld and English, 1975; Scott and Hart, 1979; Jansen, 1978) and a sense of confidence in the degree of professionalization of the professionals involved (Foote and Hatt, 1953; Stinson, 1969; Krause, 1982: 70-71).

To compensate for the indeterminancy of the technology, intake policies are developed within human service organizations which stereotype clients. Even with these screening procedures in place, the body of knowledge about cause-effect relations available to those in most human service organizations is partial and inconclusive (Hasenfeld and

English, 1975: 14), particularly when the main focus of these organizations is on the non-physical attributes of the persons being processed and changed.

Organizational Issues

In short, those monitoring human service organizations lack reliable and valid measures of effectiveness since effectiveness is determined by the degree to which and organization achieves its goals. Effectiveness is also difficult to determine since both the actual outcomes and the goals themselves are unclear or even contradictory (Perrow, 1970: 134-140).

The efficiency (i.e., the cost per unit) of human service organizations is also difficult to calculate since the unit of production is unclear due to the fact that these organizations deal with socially-defined products.

These organizations may also experience more conflict since the 'business they are in' may be unclear or perceived differently by the different personnel carrying out the different tasks of the organization who may also interact with different task environments and operate from different professional paradigms. For example, the 'means' orientation of professional managers which requires services to be delivered within the fiscal resources and scope of and organization may be at odds with the client orientation of the personal service professionals (Halmos, 1973) whose altruistic propensities (Goode, 1969) and professional culture (Ritzer, 1977) require that the needs of their clients be paramount.

The social integration and motivation of staff within these organizations emphasizes their roles and personal skills since their role establishes their authority and their personal and professional skills provide the major technical component. Problems of integration can arise, however, when the various professionals either fail to acknowledge or disagree with the paradigm used by other professionals to identify problems and deal with clients. Again this may be more prevalent between the impersonal services professionals such as administrators and accountants and the personal service professionals (Halmos, 1973).

These differing paradigmatic approaches can also create problems with coordination within the organization. Normal functioning clients play an important part in the coordination of their own services. However, professionals must ensure the coordination of the more malfunctioning clients through appropriate procedures and policies which allow for both formal and emergent processes.

The maintenance (adaptation to environment) of human service organizations rely heavily on the perceptions of the degree to which they are meeting the needs as defined by funding sources, clientele, staff, and the various components of the task environments (ie., professional associations). Levin and Roberts (1976) have summarized the impact of these components on the human service organization in the following figure:

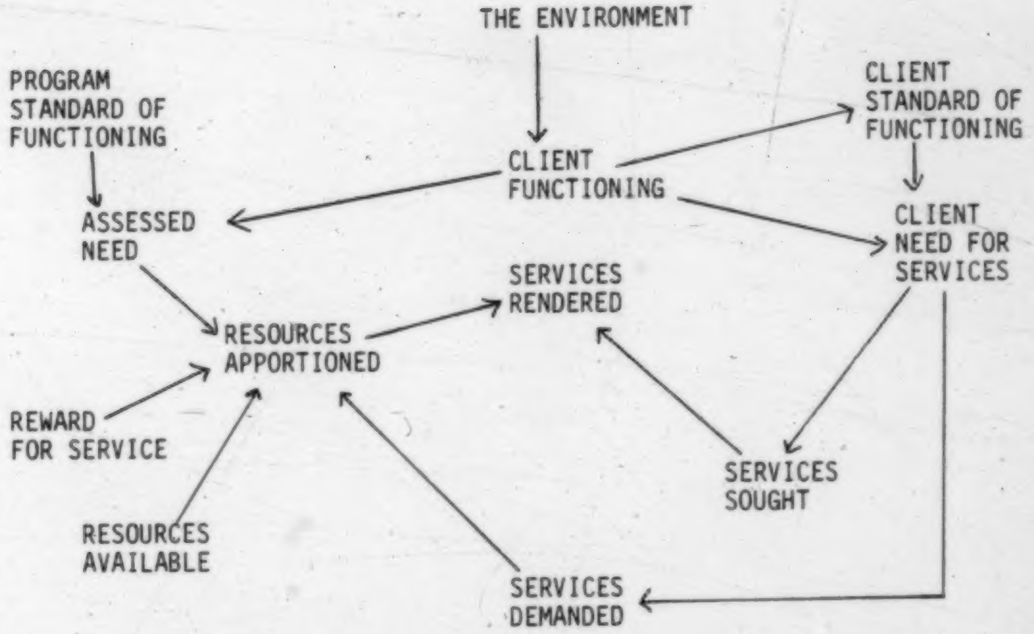
THE ENVIRONMENT
PROGRAM STANDARD OF FUNCTIONING
CLIENT FUNCTIONING
CLIENT STANDARD OF FUNCTIONING
ASSESSED NEED
CLIENT NEED FOR SERVICES
SERVICES RENDERED
RESOURCES APPORTIONED
REWARD FOR SERVICE
SERVICES SOUGHT
RESOURCES AVAILABLE
SERVICES DEMANDED

Figure 3. A General Theory of Human Service Delivery (adapted from Levin and Roberts, 1976, p. 22)

This figure shows that a change in any of these components, such as a reduction in the resources available or a change in the perceptions of the outcome of the services rendered, could eventually impact the entire services system.

Organizational Change

Organizational change within human service organizations is complicated by the fact that these organizations deal with perceptions and socially-constructed reality (i.e., perceived social relations which are based on over-arching values that are shared by everyone and proved a focus for social organization [eg., see Berger and Luckman, 1967]).

Scott and Meyers (1983), in fact, have argued that formal organizational structures are the result of two different types of environmental pressures and processes. "First, complex technologies and social environments with complex exchanges (such as markets) foster the development of rationalized bureaucratic organizational structures to efficiently coordinate technical work (see Thompson, 1967; Galbraith, 1973). Second, institutional structures emerge that define given types of roles and programs as rational and legitimate. These structures in turn encourage the development of specific bureaucratic organizations that incorporate these elements and can conform to these rules (Myer and Rowan, 1977)." The emergence of the factory reflects the first process, and the emergence of human service organizations reflect the second. Figure 4 below illustrates these processes.

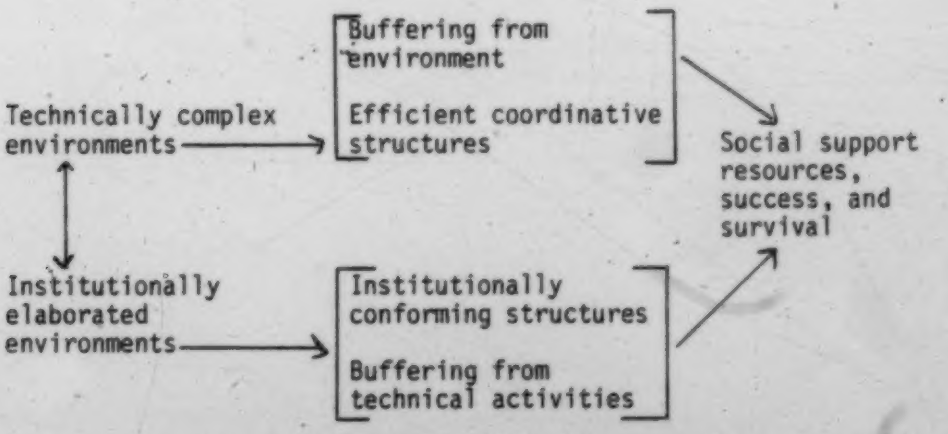
Technically complex environments
Buffering from environment
Efficient coordinative structures
Social support resources, success, and survival
Institutionally elaborated environments
Institutionally conforming structures
Buffering from technical activities

Figure 4. Institutional and Technical Theories of Organization Structure (adapted from Meyer and Scott, 1983: 47).

Human service organizations, are developed in response to the institutionally elaborated environments which, in turn, are legitimated by the underlying values of modern society as expressed through a cultural perspective. John Meyer notes, for example, that in less developed societies, with less institutionalization of rationalization outside organizational forms, there are less formal organizations, and that the formal organizations that do exist are more highly rationalized (Meyer and Thomas, 1980).

In modern society, where the rise of modern organization in the economy and state has been greatly facilitated by the monetarization of values (Meyer and Scott, 1983: 266) the same environmental factors which facilitate the expansion of formal organization into more and more domains of social life enter into the life of these formal organizations themselves -- requiring them to meet goals extraneous to their original purpose. Thus, Meyer concludes that "it is exactly this rationalization of so many aspects of society that limits the rationality of formal organizational structure: modern formal organizations are built around the acknowledgement of the external legitimation, definition, and control of their internal processes" (Meyer and Scott, 1983: 269).

In modern society, almost every aspect of rationalized organizational structure comes under exogenous institutional control. For example, organizations are penetrated by political and citizenship rules, occupational groups and rights such as those proposed by professional associations and institutionalized bodies of knowledge. According to Meyer, this results in these organizations losing their clear structural rationality because of the institutional definition of multiple and incommensurable purposes; sovereignty becomes plural and unclear, as different external forces exert partial claims; the means-ends technology becomes common knowledge or under the control of particular institutionalized sciences or occupations, which are external to the control structures of the organization; human resources are defined and classified outside the organization itself by citizenship rules and by educational and occupational credentials; and material resources are set under external definition and control by scientific and political bodies (Meyer, 1983).

Since formal organizations in modern Western society must adhere to the standards generated in other organizations, they therefore become less rational (i.e., less means-end oriented). This applies to modern human service organizations as well, which may develop a "shadow rationalization" (an abstracted form of rationalization that contains, as elements, institutional definitions more than the realities that are presumed), and professionalized functions (giving authority to society-wide or worldwide occupational groups). They may also emphasize "ritual appearances": signals to the external institutional world, the internal representatives of that system, and those external and internal audiences concerned with the integrity of the organization itself that both rational coherence and institutional conformity are in place. To survive, these organizations incorporate multiple perspectives, rely less on decision-making, and emphasize commitments to cooperation. This results in these modern organizations being less a perfect machine or automation of an explicitly rationalized structure, and more a political and ideological system (Meyer, 1983: 269-270).

Human service organizations respond to this institutionally-elaborated environment, then, by incorporating the resulting rationalized institutional rules as structural elements. The effects of this isomorphism are depicted in the following figure:

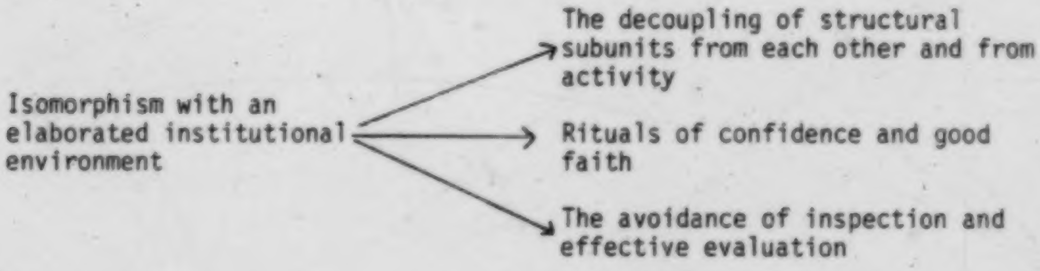
Isomorphism with an elaborated institutional environment
The decoupling of structural subunits from each other and from activity
Rituals of confidence and good faith
The avoidance of inspection and effective evaluation

Figure 5. The Effects of Institutional Isomorphism on Organizations (adapted from Meyer and Rowan, 1977)

These organizations therefore remain in a loosely-coupled state where they are both perceived as adhering to the myths arising from the institutionalized elaborated environment and, at the same time, attend to the practical activity of doing business. Thus, a split occurs between the official and operative goals (Perrow, 1961) as the organization endeavors to justify the confidence and good faith placed in it while still avoiding effective evaluation which might undermine this confidence. This is particularly true for human service organizations since they deal almost entirely with human beings and social reality which may be more subjective and abstract in nature. Change within these organizations, therefore, must be compatible with the values of the culture underlying the institutionally-elaborated environment (Scott and Hart, 1979), the political issues of the day and the technological advancements which are occurring within their service area.

Thus, as societies develop more formal organizations, the organizations themselves become less rational in order to survive -- in the sense that they must incorporate into their structure the means to meet goals that are generated outside of their organization and which may have little to do directly with the actual business of the organization. The distinction between means and ends so clearly delineated in the rational open system, begins to blur as the organization tries to adjust the pressures and standards developed by exogenous organizations -- to the point where means may be converted into ends and vice versa.

According to Scott and Hart (1979: 209), "the precariousness of our age has come about because of security of the great inter-dependent system of modern organizations has taken precedence over the realization of the values of the individual imperative." This is particularly true for human service organizations where the public is designated as the prime beneficiary and where the central problem becomes maintaining a perceived responsiveness to the demands of the various publics and interest groups with which they are concerned. To retain this perceived responsiveness, human service organizations must adapt by taking into account the relevant social, political, and economic forces which are providing them with both opportunities and constraints.

Those employing the four different paradigms mentioned above, however, would view organizational change in human service organizations quite differently. The functionalists perceive these social, political and economic forces are therefore reviewed as external realities which must be dealt with by either adapting the human service organizations to accommodate these pressures or by trying to influence or change these forces in the organizational environment. Those utilizing the interpretive paradigm, however, would question the status and existence of these contextual forces other than viewing them as the social constructions of individuals which have become shared through the use of language. Accent is viewed as oriented towards making sense of the past as well as the future rather than oriented towards a future state which would reestablish the equilibrium between these forces and the organization (Morgan, 1980: 616-617). Organizational activity then is viewed as a symbolic document (Ricoeur, 1971). This metaphor of text is concerned with understanding the manner in which organizational activities are offered, read, and translated (Manning, 1979).

Those utilizing either the radical humanist or radical structuralist paradigm focus on the political and exploitive aspects of organizational life. Rather than viewing the order in social life as an adaptive process or a preactive social construction, they perceive this order and the organizations which promoted as a consequence of a process of social domination. Those utilizing the radical humanist paradigm view organizational members as prisoners of a mode of consciousness which is shaped and controlled through ideological processes (Habermas, 1970). These include the alienating aspects of purposive rationality (Marcuse, 1964), the language of organizational life (Cleeg, 1975) the worship of technology (Dickson, 1974), and the ideology of work itself (Anthony, 1977).

Those employing the radical structuralist paradigm perceive organizations as powerful instruments of domination to be understood as an integal part of a wider process of domination within society as a whole (Braverman, 1974; Benson, 1977). Those in control of organizations are viewed as utilizing ideological, political, and economic means of dominating their members (Friedman, 1977), and for dominating the wider context in which they operate. This includes that aspect of Weber's theory which views bureaucracies as an "iron cage" (Weber, 1946) and Michels' analysis of the "iron law of oligarchy" (Michels, 1949).

The problematic for organizational theory emanating from those utilizing both the radical humanist and radical structuralist paradigms is to penetrate through the service appearance of the empirical world and reveal the deep structure of forces which account for the nature, existence and on going transformation of organization within the total world situation (Morgan, 1980: 620). The focus, then, is on the origins, nature, and means of communicating the social, political and economic forces to which organizations must respond. The problematic of those employing the interpretive and functional paradigms is based on the assumption that these forces represent an underlying pattern and order within the social world. The role and function of human service organizations, therefore, is to enable the processing or changing of people to help them to adapt to the consequences of these forces.

Within the functionalist paradigm, the social, political, and economic forces are viewed as external realities which if not contended with, may threaten the existence of the organization. On the other hand, these forces are also viewed as providing these organizations with opportunities to develop further. It is within this latter context that Tichy's TPC Theory has evolved in order to aid managers to define the organizational problems and alternative solutions required to deal with these forces.

CHAPTER 3

MANAGING STRATEGIC CHANGE: TICHY'S TPC THEORY

According to Noel Tichy (1983), the social, political, and economic forces of the organizational environment provide opportunities and/or constraints to organizations. Cultural, political, and technical systems are developed by the management of the organization to respond to these problems and opportunities. Technical systems are developed to resolve production and economic problems; political systems to resolve power allocation problems, and establish and maintain a new equilibrium within the organization; and cultural systems to resolve problems relating to the formation and expression of values which are compatible with the two other systems and which would be most beneficial to the organization (1983: 7-14). Organizations, therefore, "serve as social means through which people attempt to accomplish technical, political, and cultural ends" (Tichy, 1983: 117).

The tools with which management can manipulate to make adjustments in the technical, political, and cultural systems are identified by Tichy as follows: mission/strategy, tasks, prescribed networks, people, organization processes, and emergent networks (1983: 117-119). In Tichy's model, there must be a reasonable amount of 'alignment' among these intrasystemic components, as well as among the three systems themselves, if an organization is to remain effective. By alignment, Tichy means a balance of the time and resources expended both within and among the systems. Table 2 below identifies each of the components within each of the three systems.

	MANAGERIAL TOOLS					
MANAGERIAL AREAS	Mission/strategy	Tasks	Prescribed Network	People	Processes	Emergent (Informal) Networks
Technical System	- Assessing enviornment - Assessing organization - Defining mission and fitting resources accordingly	- Scanning environments - Strategic Planning	- Differentation of work into roles - Re-integration of roles into departments - Aligning structure to strategy	- Selection or development of technical skills - Matching management skills with technical tasks	- Fitting people to roles - Performance criteria specified and measured - Filling roles through staffing and development - Developing information and planning systems to support strategy and tasks	- Fostering developing information networks which facilitate task accomplishment
Political System	- Managing coalitional behaviour around influencing and making strategic decisions	- Coalitional activities to influence decisions through lobbying of external and internal constituencies	- Distribution of power across role structure - Balancing power across groups of roles	- Using political skills - Matching political needs and operating with organizational opportunities	- Managing succession politics - Deciding and administering reward system - Managing appraisal politics - Managing the politics of information control and the planning process	- Managing emergent influence, networks, coalitions, and cliques
Cultural System	- Managing the influence of values and philosophy on the mission/strategy - Developing culture aligned with mission/strategy	- Using symbolic events to reinforce culture - role modelling by key people - Clarifying and defining values	- Developing managerial style aligned with technical and political structure - Developing subcultures to support roles - Integrating subcultures to create organizational culture	- Using cultural leadership skills - Matching values of people with the organizational culture	- Selecting people to build or reinforce cultures - Socialization to mold organization culture - Managing rewards to shape and reinforce the culture - Managing the information and planning systems to shape and reinforce the culture	- Fostering System friendships and affective networks, coalitions and cliques to shape and reinforce the culture

Table 2. Adapted from Tichy's TPC Theory for Managing Strategic Change: Managerial Areas and Tools (Tichy, 1983: 119)

The technical system of the organization addresses production problems in the context of environmental threats and opportunities. The managerial tools (i.e., organizational components) are used to arrange social, financial, and technical resources in order to produce the desired output. To this end, managers engage in such activities as goal setting, strategy formulation, organizational design, and the design of management systems. This system reflects many of the attributes of the open and closed rational perspectives. A mission and strategy is designed which will meet environmental and internal concerns, tasks are differentiated accordingly, coordination occurs through procedures and administrative units, and personnel are selected and appraised according to the skills and standards required by the job.

The political system is concerned with the allocation of power and resources within the organization, the managerial tools are utilized to identify the uses to which the organization will be put, and those who will reap the benefits. Activities within this system include compensation programs, career decisions, budget decisions, and the formulation of the internal power structure. This system reflects many of the attributes of the open and closed natural systems where organizational survival depends on the efficacy of the coalitions within the organization, the integration of individual aspirations with organizational goals and a reliance on the informal network to supplement formal information processing in order to implement tasks.

The cultural system is the normative glue (i.e., culture) of the organization. Through it, managers identify the values, beliefs, objectives, and interpretations shared by the membership. This includes identifying what values should be shared, what objectives are worth striving for, what beliefs the members of the organization should be committed to, and what interpretations of past events and current pronouncements are most beneficial for the organization. This system reflects the normative attributes of both the open and closed systems.

Tichy argues that an interactive process occurs between the organization and environmental pressures. Since organizations operate in a open system, other factors which appear unrelated to the organization may also impact through these environmental pressures (e.g. historical events, global trends, market changes, increased competition, economic resessions, and so on). All of these forces combine to affect change in the organization. Figure 6 below portrays this process.

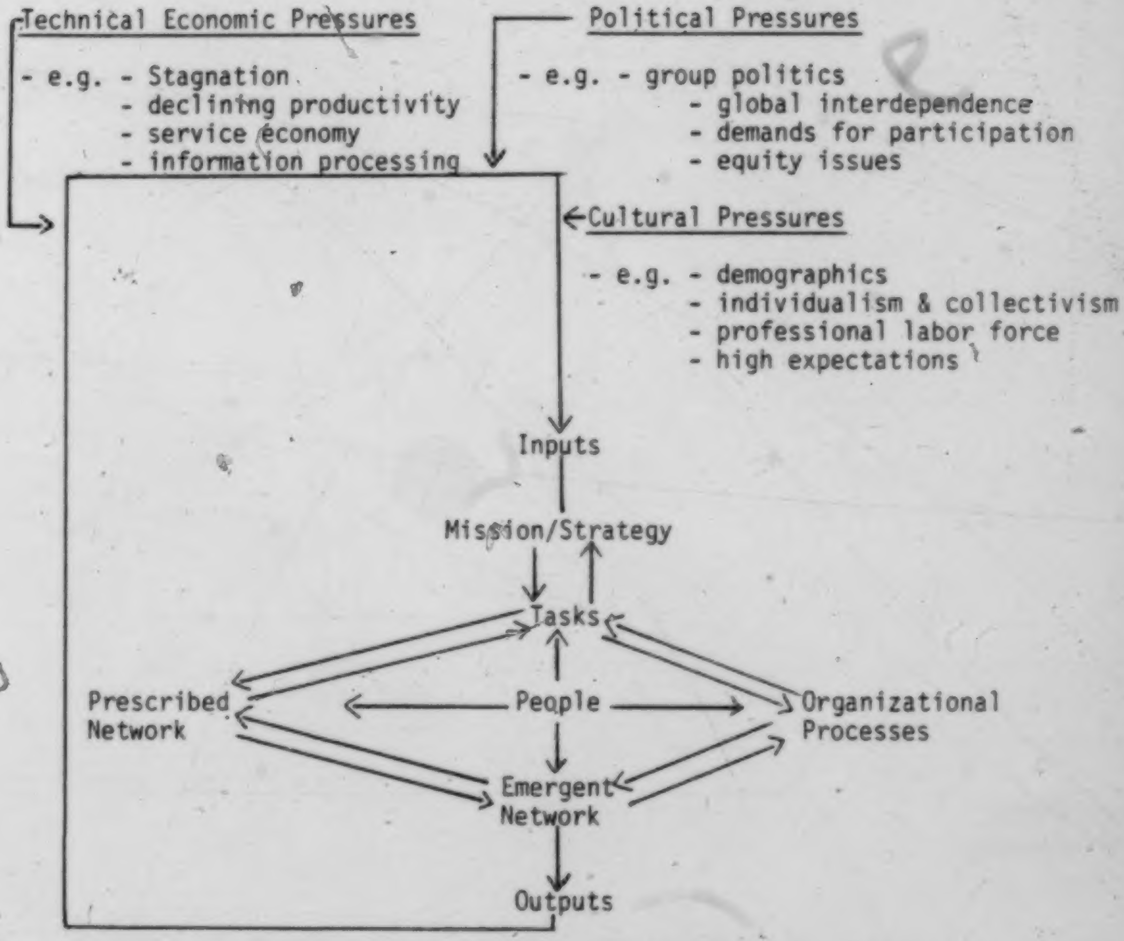
Technical Economic Pressures
- e.g. - Stagnation
- declining productivity
- service economy
- information processing
Political Pressures
- e.g. - group politics
- global interdependence
- demands for participation
- equity issues
Cultural Pressures
- e.g. - demographics
- individualism & collectivism
- professional labor force
- high expectations
Inputs
Mission/Strategy
Tasks
Prescribed Network
People
Organizational Processes
Emergent Network
Outputs

Figure 6. Interaction between Environmental and Organizational Dynamics (adapted from Tichy, 1983).

Changes occurring in each of the variables in figure 6 - both external and internal to the organization may result in an increase in uncertainty and therefore a need to realign components of the three systems or perhaps a realignment of the three systems themselves.

Tichy compares organizations to a rope comprised of three strands: the technical strand, political strand, and a cultural strand (1983: 11). For the organization to remain effective, the components of each strand should be sufficiently aligned to adequately deal with the corresponding problems. However, since organizations are perpetually in flux, none of the three problem areas is ever resolved entirely. The problems consist of ongoing dilemmas. At various points in time, any one of the problems, or some combination may be in need of adjustment. These adjustments are managed by implementing a range of strategies which include "self-adjustment through benign neglect or purposeful avoidance, slight massaging of the problem, concerted managerial effort focusing on changes in the organization's mission and strategy, re-design of the organization's structure, or alterations of the human resource management systems" (Tichy, 1983: 11).

Organizations, therefore, go through technical, political, and cultural adjustment cycles as the management within the organization strives towards equilibrium. However, since all three systems are interdependent, an adjustment in one system may affect the other two. According to Tichy, not only should there be an internal logic and alignment of the components within each system, but there must also be congruence and alignment between the systems themselves if the organization is to be strategically well managed (1983: 12). Tichy, therefore, sees effective organizations continually undergoing dynamic and complex processes of cyclical changes in response to environmental and internal pressures.

According to Tichy, organizations also consist of three levels - strategic, managerial, and operational. Managers at the strategic level focus on determining what business or businesses the organization is in or should be in, choosing objectives and reviewing them, identifying major priorities, and specifying major programs and developing policies to achieve them. They are concerned with establishing tasks, prescribed networks, and organization processes which in the long run will facilitate their business. In terms of human resources, they determine the kinds of people needed to run the business in the long term, specific policies and programs for the long term development of human resources and the appropriate social and cultural context within which the objectives are likely to succeed (Tichy, 1983: 404).

Those at the managerial level focus on the acquisition of resources for carrying out the strategic plan and the development of procedures for measuring and monitoring performance. Their authority and tasks are derived primarily from and exercised through the prescribed network as they monitor and participate in the organizational processes required to implement the organizational output. They are also concerned with developing an effective and efficient human resource system for acquiring, appraising, rewarding and developing human resources to achieve their strategic goals.

Those functioning at the operational level are concerned with the execution of day-to-day tasks of the on going production process. They perform the tasks required to achieve the output utilizing their skills and the resources and processes made available to them through the organization structure to produce the product (organizational output) in accordance with the established standards.

The purpose of Tichy's model is to provide both a conceptual framework and a pragmatic tool which addresses issues of organizational assessment and change at a very broad level. Tichy perceives two types of change.

Non-strategic change is small scale, routine, and continuous change, which takes place in subtle and incremental ways. Strategic change, which is the focus of his model, refers to "non-routine, non-incremental, and discontinuous change, which alters the overall orientation of the organization and/or components of the organization" (Tichy, 1983:17). This is change which is both of a large magnitude or strategic nature, and change which is or can be managed through a process of diagnosis, strategic planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Since organizations have a large array of data, Tichy emphasizes the importance of developing an organizational model that is explicitly shared among the members of the organization to ensure that the conceptualization of the problems mean the same to everyone. As Argyris and Schon (1974) point out, "human beings use micro-theories of action to inform their behavior. The theories if made explicit can be stated in informal terms." Tichy therefore emphasizes the need to explicate the underlying assumptions utilized by the organizational members when undergoing strategic change to ensure each person has the same understanding of the defined problems before a plan for change is developed. Tichy's model for identifying and evaluating the improvements brought about by this change is displayed in Figure 7 below.

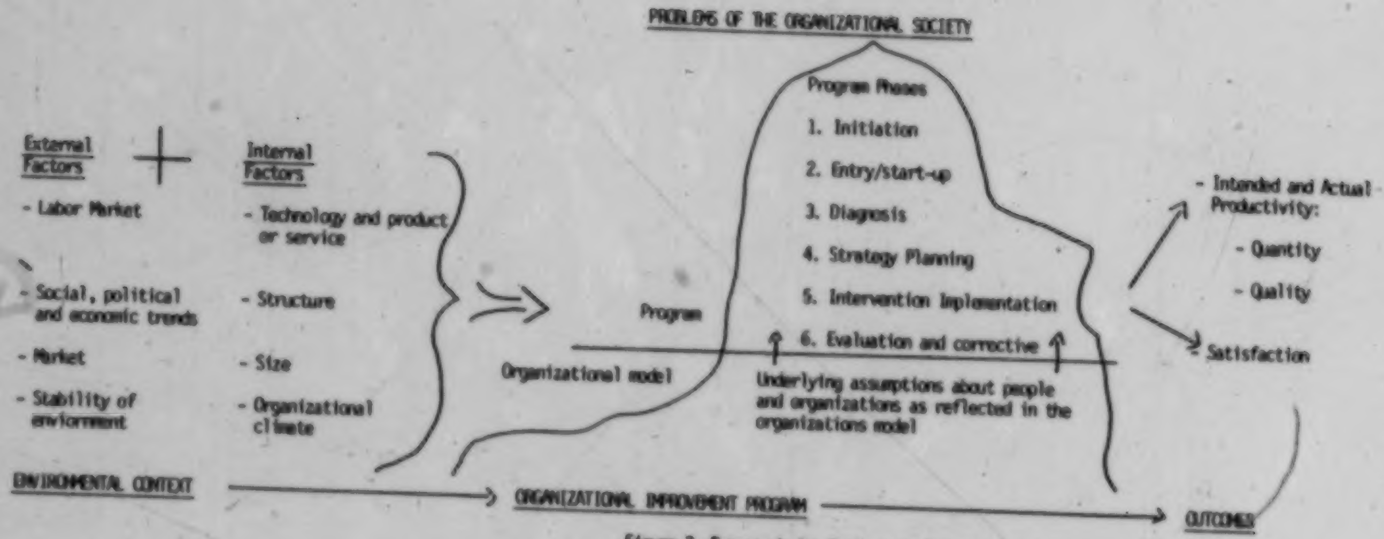
PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIETY
External Factors
- Labor Market
- Social, political and economic trends
- Market
- Stability of environment
Internal Factors
- Technology and product or service
- Structure
- Size
- Organizational climate
Program
Organizational model
Program Phases
1. Initiation
2. Entry/start-up
3. Diagnosis
4. Strategy Planning
5. Intervention Implementation
6. Evaluation and corrective
Underlying assumptions about people and organizations as reflected in the organizations model
- Intended and Actual Productivity:
- Quantity
- Quality
- Satisfaction
ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT
ORGANIZATIONAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM
OUTCOMES

Figure 7. Framework for Evaluating Organizational Improvements (adapted from Tichy, 1976).

The framework above shows the relationship between the environmental context and the organization which is viewed as an iceberg. The explicit activities of strategic change are supported by the underlying assumptions members of the organization unconsciously utilize in their conceptualization of the organization's programs -- including any programs for strategic change. The activity depicted in the steps above the water line grow out of these persons' assumptions and theories about human nature and organizations. According to Tichy, it is therefore absolutely necessary to ferret out the assumptions and models that guide these programs to enable the understanding of the causes of success or failure.

For purposes of empirical research, Tichy has simplified the three by six matrix depicted in Table 2 above into a three by three matrix (see Tichy, 1983: 393-401) by reducing the managerial tool areas into: (1) mission and strategy, which entails setting goals and developing strategy, including all of the managerial processes necessary to realize the goal; (2) organizational structure and design, which includes the task of the organization, how people are grouped and coordinated to accomplish the tasks, as well as the managerial processes of control, information, and so on needed to make the structure work; and (3) human resource management tools, which include staff selection and placement of people, development of people for performing their current as well as future jobs, appraisal of performance, potential, and both financial and non-financial rewards (Tichy, 1983: 395). This simplified version of the managerial areas (the systems) and the managerial tools (the organizational components) (Tichy, 1983: 394-401) have been summarized by Huse and Cummings (1985: 363) in the following table.

MANAGERIAL TOOLS

MANAGERIAL AREAS	Mission/Strategy	Organization Structure	Human Resources Management Process
Technical System	- Assessing: - environment - organization - Defining: - mission - fit of resources	- Differentiation - Integration - Aligning structure to strategy	- Fitting people to roles - Specifying performance criteria - Measuring performance - Selecting and developing staff
Political System	- Determining who influences mission/strategy - Managing coalitional behavior around strategic decisions	- Power: - distribution - balance across groups of roles	- Managing: - succession politics - appraisal politics - Designing and administering reward system
Cultural System	- Managing influence of values and philosophy on mission/strategy - Developing a culture aligned with mission/strategy	- Developing managerial styles aligned with structure - Developing subcultures to support roles - Integrating subcultures to form an organizational culture	- Selecting people to build or reinforce culture - Socializational activities to mold organization culture - Managing rewards to shape culture

Table 3. Strategic Management: Areas and Tools
(adapted from Tichy, 1983, In Huses and Cummings, 1985: 363).

When the three strategic levels of organizations are combined with this simplified version of Tichy's framework, then a three dimensional model is generated which may guide the analysis of activities and events which occur in the organization over time. This model is outlined in figure 8 below.

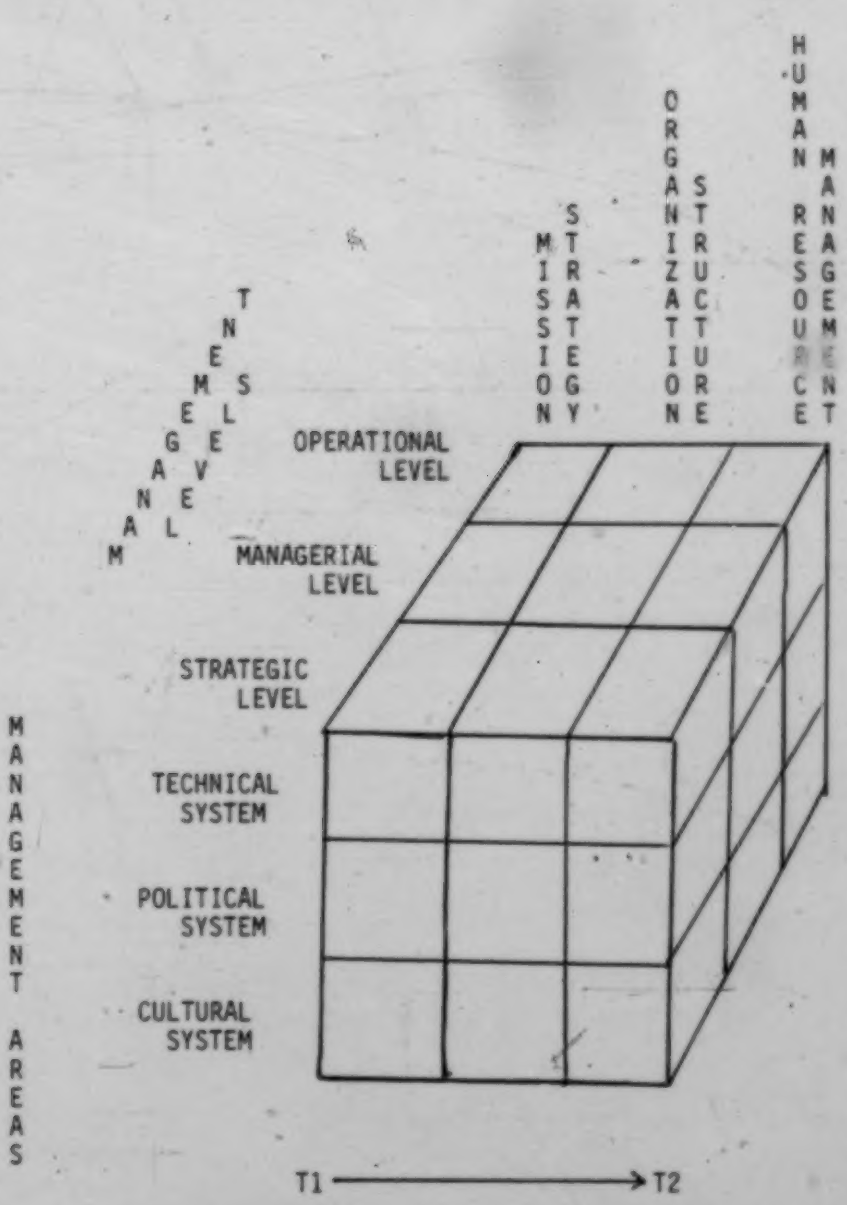
MANAGEMENT LEVELS
MISSION
STRATEGY
ORGANIZATION
STRUCTURE
HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
OPERATIONAL LEVEL
MANAGERIAL LEVEL
STRATEGIC LEVEL
MANAGEMENT AREAS
TECHNICAL SYSTEM
POLITICAL SYSTEM
CULTURAL SYSTEM
T1 → T2

Figure 8. Model for Analyzing Organizational Activities Over Time.

As activities in the organization change over time these activities may be identified and coded utilizing the matrices outlined in figure 8. The interaction and effect of these activities on one and other can then be determined over time, then any resulting misalignments may be identified and strategies devised to increase organizational effectiveness.

According to Tichy, there are essentially two options that the strategic level managers can employ. The first is to endeavor to reduce the sources of uncertainty (this includes both internal and external sources). The second option is to adjust the requirements and capacity of the organization in such a way that the organization now becomes capable of handling the uncertainty. The latter is accomplished by adjusting one or more of the technical, political or cultural systems in terms of their degree of organicity (as opposed to a more mechanistic orientation) via a strategic plan (Tichy, 1983: 126-127).

TPC Theory And Organization Theory

Recently, a growing recognition has risen regarding the need for a degree of synthesis among organization theory. Mitzberg's (1979) typologies, Ouchi's (1981) "Theory Z", Aldrich's (1979) "Population Ecology Model", and Greenwood and Hinings' (1986) "Organization Design Types and Organization Tracks" are all examples of this trend toward attempting to respond to the growing need for synthesis. Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory" also appears to enable a synthesis of past organization theory. The challenge is to "incorporate not only relations of meaning and power but also the mediation of contingent size, technology, and environment" (Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood, 1980); that is, to incorporate the effects and interaction of variables both exogenous and endogenous to the organization.

The three-by-three matrix outlined in Table 3 above may provide a means for a synthesis of both the open and closed system theories of the functionalist paradigm discussed above. Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory" appears to form the basis of a paradigm in Kuhn's (1970) sense of the word, in that it provides a general way of seeing the world and dictates what kind of scientific work should be done and what kinds of theories are acceptable. It is argued, however, that if Tichy's theory does enable a synthesis of preceding organizational theory, then the major valid aspects of these theories would be commensurate with the nine aspects of Tichy's theory outlined in Table 3.

In the following tables, a preliminary attempt has been made to synthesize the main contributions of the major organization theorists as outlined in section one above to see if they are compatible with the nine categories within Tichy's theory.

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM	Weber (1968, Chapter 7)-- Market behaviour is influenced by rational, purposeful pursuits of interests	Urwick (1943) -- Logical Structure based on principles of management Weber (1947) -- Division of labor and specialization based on technical requirements Taylor (1947) -- Work analyzed scientifically -- Cooperation between planners and doers Mooney and Reiley (1931) -- Differentiation of duties Gulick (1937) -- Managerial activities Gouldner (1954) -- Dysfunctional consequences	Taylor (1947) -- Match Worker's intellectual and physical abilities to job Urwick (1943) -- Specification of performance criteria Weber (1947) -- Standard operating procedures -- Expert training Fayol (1949) -- Five elements of administration Gulick (1937) -- Managerial activities (POSDCORB) Weber (1947) -- Staff selected on basis of technical competence
POLITICAL SYSTEM	Urwick (1943) -- Managers must take ultimate responsibilities for subordinates' action Fayol (1916) -- Planning and forecasting the domain of management Weber (1949) -- Authority linked to office	Urwick (1943) -- Clear line of authority -- Span of control Taylor (1947) -- Shared responsibility between managers and workers Weber (1947) -- Rational-legal authority -- Office hierarchy Mooney and Reiley (1931) -- Staff-line authority Fayol (1949) -- Authority of managers	Weber (1947) -- Reward for following procedures Gouldner (1954) -- Impact of managerial changes on the organizational performance

TABLE 4. THE CLOSED RATIONAL STSTEM APPROACH

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM			McGregor (1957) -- People can achieve their own goals best by directing their own efforts toward organization objectives
POLITICAL SYSTEM			Roethlisberger adn Dickson (1939) -- Efficacy of employee-oriented supervision Barnard (1938) -- Maintenance of morale through incentives, restraints, controls, supervision, training, and education -- Manager formulates and disseminates purposes and objectives Argyris (1966) -- Leadership as supervisor's motivation and influence over subordinates
CULTURAL SYSTEM		Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) -- Importance of non-formal organization to support roles Likert (1961) -- 'Linking pin' persons represented in each work group to develop mutually consistent managerial goals between organizational levels	Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) -- Hawthorne studies -- Importance of group pressure and group dynamics in the work place Barnard (1938) -- Importance of cohesive organization with well-informed members McGregor (1960) -- Theory X (authoritarian management) vs. Theory Y (participative management

TABLE 5. THE CLOSED NATURAL SYSTEM APPROACH

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM	Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) -- Different parts of the organization face different task environments Thompson (1967) -- Uncertainty is the fundamental problem for complex organizations Katz and Kahn (1966) -- Importation of energy from environment -- The supportive subsection Emery and Trist (1960) -- The organization system is subject to social, technical and economic forces which are interrelated Kimberly and Rottman (1987) organizations evolve through time in response to, or in anticipation of external and internal forces	Woodward (1958) -- Effects of technology on structure Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) -- Differentiation and unity of of purpose in complex organizations Thompson (1967) -- Effects of environmental heterogenity vs. homogenity on organization structure Perrow (1970) -- Maximize conguence between technology and structure Katz and Kahn (1966) -- Production Subsystems -- Differentiation and integration of subsystems Khandwalla (1974) and Becker and Gordon (1966) -- mechanistic vs. organic forms of organization	Katz and Kahn (1966) -- The maintenance subsystem; i.e., appropriate selection of personnel and socialization practices
POLITICAL SYSTEM	Katz and Kahn (1966) -- The adaptive subsystem; i.e., seeking to attain control over the environment and modifying organization structure and/or processes to meet external changes Cyert and March (1963)-- Organizations as coalitions	Thompson (1967) -- Situations of dependency and coordination of organizational activities (eg., pooled, sequential, and reciprocal) Katz and Kahn (1966) -- Managerial subsystem, i.e., to control, coordinate, and direct all other subsystems and activities Hage (1965, 1980) - relative power of particular departments, input into decision making	Katz and Kahn (1966) -- The maintenance system; i.e., appropriate reward and sanction systems -- Managerial subsystem; i.e., to control, coordinate and direct all other subsystems and activities Hage (1965, 1980) -coalition formulation, succession and leadership

TABLE 6. THE OPEN RATIONAL SYSTEM APPROACH

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
POLITICAL SYSTEM (con't)	Alexis and Wilson (1967) -- bounded rationality; i.e., people can attend only to small parts of the infomation they receive and the environment in which they function Kimberly and Rottman (1987) involvement in strategic versus short term decisions	Simon (1965) -- Simplification of decision-making through the establishment of a "means-end" hierarchy Cyert and March (1963) -- Importance of loosely-lined and continuously shifting coalitions; i.e., the coalition model	
CULTURAL	Simon (1965) -- Organizations need to control the premises of decision-making	Burns and Stalker (1961) -- Effects on the organization of organic vs. mechanistic styles of management.	

TABLE 6. THE OPEN RATIONAL SYSTEM APPROACH
(CONTINUED)

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM	Hannan and Freeman (1977) and Aldrich (1979) -- "Natural selection" model; i.e., populations of organizations adapt to the environment through and evolutionary process in order to survive Alexander et al (1986) -- organizational selection criteria change as enviornmental stability changes	Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) -- Organizations as loosely-coupled systems	
POLITICAL SYSTEM	Hickson et al. (1971) -- Control of strategic contingencies to cope with uncertainties increases power fo the unit Pffeffer and Salancik (1978) -- Manage demands of external groups and coalition of support Provon (1984) - Importance of an organization and it's resources to it's autonomy of organization over resources and strategic decisions	Hickson et al. (1971) -- Power accrues to those subunits that cope with uncertainties for other subunits Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) -- Managing internal coalitions Tushman and Nadler (1978) -- Information processing as an integrating concept in organization design	Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) -- Organizational success and failures attributed to acts of leadership; leaders replaced accordingly
CULTURAL SYSTEM	Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) Importance of organizational self-control and self-deftermination Meyer and Rowan (1977) -- Organizations are created and maintained by "rationalized beliefs"		

TABLE 7. THE OPEN NATURAL SYSTEM APROACH

If this preliminary review is accurate and representative, then it appears that Tichy's theory is indeed commensurable with previous organization theory.. Table 4 above reveals that the closed rational system approach is covered by the technical and political systems of Tichy's theory, with a particular emphasis on the organization structure and human resource management components. According to Table 5, Tichy's human resource management component across all three systems covers most of the concepts of the closed natural system approach. All three of Tichy's systems appears to be required to deal with the ideas presented by the open rational system approach. The emphasis of this approach appears to be on the mission/strategy and organization structure components of the three systems. Finally, the concepts of the open natural system approach appear to be incorporated in the mission/strategy component of all three systems, and all three components of the political system.

In Table 8 below, the authors of the concepts expressed within each of the four approaches outlined in the above tables are listed utilizing Tichy's framework. According to this table, it does appear that Tichy's framework is commensurate with previous functionalist organization theory -- at least on a macro level of abstraction. The theory appears to give the user the ability to draw on these different theories simultaneously depending on the particular component and system being studied or manipulated.

	MISSION & STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM	Weber (1968) Lawrence & Lorsch (1967) Thompson (1967) Katz & Kahn (1966) Emery and Trist (1960) Hannan & Freeman (1977) Aldrich (1979) Alexander et al (1986) Kimberly and Rottman (1987)	Urwick (1943) Weber (1947) Taylor (1947) Mooney & Reiley (1931) Gulick (1937) Gouldner (1954) Woodward (1958) Lawrence & Lorsch (1967) Thompson (1967) Perrow (1970) Katz & Kahn (1966) Khandwalla (1974) Pfeffer & Salancik (1978)	Taylor (1947) Urwick (1943) Weber (1947) Fayol (1949) Gulick (1937) McGregor (1957) Katz & Kahn (1966)
POLITICAL SYSTEM	Urwick (1943) Fayol (1916) Weber (1949) Katz & Kahn (1966) Cyert & March (1963) Alexis & Wilson (1967) Hickson et al. (1971) Pfeffer & Salancik (1978) Provan (1984)	Urwick (1943) Taylor (1947) Weber (1947) Mooney & Reiley (1931) Fayol (1949) Thompson (1967) Katz & Kahn (1966) Simon (1965) Cyert & March (1963) Hickson et al. (1971) Pfeffer & Salancik (1978) Tushman & Nadler (1978) Hage (1965, 1980)	Weber (1947) Gouldner (1954) Roethlisberger & Dickson (1934) Barnard (1938) Argyris (1966) Katz & Kahn (1966) Pfeffer & Salancik (1978) Hage (1965, 1980)
CULTURAL SYSTEM	Simon (1965) Pfeffer & Salancik (1978) Meyer & Rowan (1977)	Roethlisberger & Dickson (1939) Likert (1961) Burns & Stalker (1961)	Weber (1947) Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) Barnard (1939) McGregor (1960)

TABLE 8. COMMENSURABILITY OF PREVIOUS ORGANIZATION THEORY WITH TICHY'S FRAMEWORK

Tichy, therefore, appears to have developed a means to bridge the formerly exclusivistic nature of each of these approaches. His theoretical framework enables one to develop a holistic dynamic picture of an organization. He has accomplished this by identifying as separate systems the technical, political, and cultural aspects of an organization -- each of which is comprised of similar components. The components provide the managerial tools by which the systems may be manipulated. To this, Tichy has added the concept of alignment, which appears to be both an idealistic and a dynamic entity. It is idealistic in the sense that this balance of power and resources among the components of the systems and between systems is a mark of an effective organization. It is a dynamic entity in that absolute alignment is never achieved since environmental (i.e., exogenously generated) and organizational (i.e., endogenously generated) pressures are always changing and changes in one system can create uncertainty (either manifestly or latently) in one or both of the other systems. It is this concept of alignment, then, that enables the practitioner to utilize the relevant aspects of the various classical organization theories.

Tichy also appears to have incorporated the theories of change, which were based on previous organization theory. As mentioned above, the classical theorists emphasized the primacy of one or two of the technical, power, or cultural components within organizations. Tichy appears to have synthesized both management and change theories by:

(1) Identifying all three levels of organizational change as being required to respond to their counterpart forces in the environment;

(2) proposing that change within each system should be examined in relation to the effects it may have on the other systems; and

(3) emphasizing the primacy of alignment within and among these systems and between these systems and their environmental forces, rather than focussing on one particular component of system.

Tichy's theory, though rational in its approach, thus allows for the incorporation of outcomes based on political (e.g. natural systems) and cultural factors. In the words of W. Richard Scott, "to paraphrase Pogo, we have met the environment and it is us." (Scott, 1983: 16). The theory enables an integration of the view of modern organizations as a means of control that espouses security (Scott and Hart, 1979: 209-211) with the realization of individual values. It provides a means through which managers may "reconcile the needs of the people with the needs of the organization through the efficient use of resources to increase material goods and services: (Scott and Hart, 1979: 7).

In short, according to Tichy, organizations consist of three systems (cultural, political, and technical) comprised of three components (mission and strategy, organizational structural, and human resource management) operating at three levels (strategic, managerial, and operative) endeavoring to perform both business (the "business the organization is in" -- i.e., objectives, priorities and programs -- the acquisition of resources, and operation) and human resource functions (staffing, appraisal, reward, and development). Though Tichy's theory is rationally oriented (i.e., his underlying assumption is that the more explicit and conscious the underlying assumptions and values of an organization are made, the more they can be dealt with through the planning, implementation, and evaluation processes), Tichy also acknowledges that many decisions must be made for political and culture reasons if the organization is to survive.

Critique of TPC Theory

As is the case with other organization theories within the functionalist paradigm, Tichy's TPC Theory is based on the assumption that the reality of organizational life rests on ontologically real relationships which are relatively ordered and cohesive.

Change is viewed as an adaptive activity which is required to restore the equilibrium (alignment) between the organization and the larger environment in which it is functioning. It is based on an analysis of organizational problems which are treated in terms of an integrated conceptual framework. This is based on an implicit assumption that the changes in the technical, political and cultural forces in the organizational environment are due to evolution and are unproblematic. He does not appear to question efficacy of these changing forces.

Those persons employing the radical humanist and radical structuralist paradigms therefore, would view Tichy's theory as a means of fostering the alienating properties of capitalist society. By re-establishing equilibrium between the societal forces and the organizational systems, the radical humanists and radical structuralists would view his theory as an instrument which sustains the current modes of domination in western society. They would view the re-establishment of the alignment between the three organizational systems as utilizing ideological, political, and economic means of dominating the members of the organization and as a way of forcing their domination within the larger society.

More specifically, on a macro level, Tichy's theory and the theories on which it is based, assume that the instrumental reasoning created by a market-centered society is ubiquitous. According to Ramos "only in contemporary modern societies does the market play the role of a centric force shaping the mind of the citizenry" (1981: 100). According to Ramos, man has different kinds of needs which demand multiple types of social settings. The market system meets only limited human needs and prescribes a particular type of social setting in which the individual is expected to perform according to rules of operational communication or purposive-instrumental criteria. He proposes a 'substantive approach to organizations' which promotes personal actualization in which utility maximization is incidental. He proposes the formulation of a typology of human concerns and of corresponding social systems where those concerns can properly be considered as issues of organization design.

Tichy implies that his theory applies to modern market-centered societies by identifying the three types of organizational uncertainty which need management - technical, political and cultural. Technical uncertainty includes uncertainty about markets, production capability, and technical innovation. Political uncertainty includes uncertainty about candidates for success, power distributions, and the politics of reward allocations. Cultural uncertainty includes uncertainty about the appropriate values system for the organization, or the existence of conflicting value systems within the organization (Tichy: 118). As noted by Ramos, these uncertainties exist primarily in modern market-centered society where emphasis is placed on the manufacturing, delivering and utilization of goods and services rather than focusing primarily on personal actualization. Tichy, however does not make this assumption explicit.

Though Tichy acknowledges that political and cultural pressures are two independent variables to which organizations must respond, he appears to assume that the ideologies, values and expectations which comprise the cultural pressures will remain congruent with current western philosophy. He also views the political pressures is being comprised primarily of the group politics created by global interdependence, demands for participation and equity issues. Plus he implicitly assumes that the cultural and political issues can be resolved within the political-economic systems of western society. He therefore appears to assume that each of these pressures are comprised of issues and aspects that are reconcilable within the current structures of western society.

On a more micro level, though Tichy defines incremental change, he does not elaborate on the difference between non-strategic and strategic change. The theory appears to be applicable in both situations. That is, the same type of analysis and techniques appear to be appropriate as the managers of the organization endeavor to deal with the uncertainty created by the cyclical peaking of the three systems. It is unclear whether the uncertainty created by this cyclical action comprises incremental or strategic change. If the theory is applicable in both situations, perhaps the distinction between strategic and non-strategic change is unnecessary.

At a social psychological level, Tichy appears to assume that members of formal organizations will conform to normative expectations once these are made explicit. Normative expectations include both role and norm expectations, as they are perceived by the individual (Willis, 1965). However, once these normative expectations are made explicit, the members of the organizations may decide to conform to the expectation, act independently by giving no weight to the perceived expectations in forming their decisions, respond directly antithetically to the expectation (anticonformity), or invariably change their response when given the opportunity (variability) without regard for the correctness of the decision.

This problem originates in a lack of attention to the specific history of an orgnaization's development. This is especially crucial in a relatively new organization where members have generally participated in and identified with its mission and goals. This may create constraints on managerial decision making which would otherwise not be understoood from the perspective of a non historical analysis (Kimberly and Rottman, 1987).

Finally, Tichy views organizations only from a managerial perspective. Granted, it is the managers who have the responsibility and authority to manipulate the organizational political system in order to re-establish alignment in the organization. His analysis of organizational situations and the need for change, however, is based on the assumption that the 'real' organization is the one perceived by the managers. as noted by those utilizing the interpretive paradigm, organizations may consist of multiple social realities. Therefore, the perceived realities of those at the operational level of the organization may differ drastically from those of the managerial and strategic levels. Although he did not state this assumption, his theory is therefore bounded by the functionalist assumption that the organization is ontologically realistic. He also appears to assume that the managerial perspective of this reality is the most valid. Those operating at other levels in the organization or from other philisophical of professional perspectives may disagree.

Strategic Change In Human Service Organizations

Most of the empirical research referred to by Tichy involves the manufacturing components of the private sector which respond to environmental pressures generated by complex technologies. As noted by Scott and Meyer (1983), the organizational environment is also comprised of institutionally elaborated values. These values legitimate the organizations which are created in response to these values. These are the human service organizations.

Like the manufacturing organizations, human service organizations also respond to the three types of environmental pressures with the corresponding systems. Since these organizations, however, deal more with social realities, the outcomes are less defineable and more open to subjective interpretations. This may leave human service organizations more open to misalignment between the various levels of the organization. For example, the outcomes expected or perceived at the policy level may differ from those at the managerial level, as well as those from the operational level.

Tichy's assertion of the need to be as explicit as possible in enunciating the underlying values and assumptions of the organization appears to be particularly applicable for human service organizations. This may be particularly problematic, however, when trying to identify, operationalize and apply public definitions of normalcy to individual clients and when trying to determine the effectiveness of the services delivered.

The institutionally-elaborated environments of human service organizations appear to be comprised of the three types of forces identified by Tichy. Underlying the cultural pressures are the societal core values. Although these values are often difficult to iterate they are expressed through norms and ideologies. Human service organizations in general, therefore, must develop organizational cultures which are perceived as reinforcing these values. This is particularly important for the people-changing organizations whether they are involved in treatment (i.e., endeavoring to help the patient return to a normal state) or socialization (i.e., the education system). This theoretical stance however appears to assume that these norms and ideologies are congruent with one another. In reality, they may in fact be contradictory. For example, human service organizations promoting abortions are in direct conflict with pro-life values and organizations. Those organizations providing and promoting intensive services to enable severly multiply handicapped individuals to live in the community may be at odds with those espousing more residual values of social welfare (Guest, 1980). The process involved in applying Tichy's theory however, may make more explicit these conflicting values and therefore allow the human service organizations to develop strategies to deal with them.

The political forces of the organizational environment require that the raw material of these organizations (i.e., human beings) be dealt with on an individualized basis. Generally, this requires that those dealing with the client groups be perceived as obtaining the knowledge (competence) and authority to implement the required action. The client orientation of these service professionals, in conjunction with the organizational autonomy they require to carry out their more non-routine technologies, may also place them in conflict with those non-personal, more means-oriented professionals who may be managing the organization. As is the case with the cultural pressures, human service organizations may be required to respond to contradictory pressures exerted by different interest groups as various social movements gather momentum or weaken. Though Tichy's theory does not deal with the underlying variables which result in the rise and fall of various social movements, his theory does enable the organizational practitioner to analyze the potential effects of the social movements on the organization and thus enables the development of an organizational strategic plan to deal with them.

The economic and production problems of the organization environment for human service organizations appear to emanate from two sources. First, since these organizations are mainly non-profit, they rely more heavily on their environment for financial support. This results in two sources of expectations for the agency -- those of the funding source and those of the clientele. The forces produced by both of these may be incommensurable or in conflict with one another. Thus, the organization may have to separate its official goals from its operative goals -- which can lead to confusion for both the members of the organization and the clientele. The second source of environmental pressure emanates from advances in or fads occurring within the human service technology. For example, the technological advances in heart transplants has created a pressure for the establishment of this highly expensive procedure. For a human service organization to survive, it may need to develop and offer these new services even if their effectiveness is uncertain.

According to Tichy, there are two types of change: incremental and strategic change. The systems which evolve within the organization in response to the environmental pressures gradually become entities unto themselves which in turn may limit the organization's responsiveness to these pressures. As these limitations are noted, the managers develop strategies, resources, and methods to realign the organization. This is based on the assumption that the managers have indeed correctly identified the problems and uncertainties created by these environmental pressures. Managers for example, may be subject to "trained incapacities" (Veblen, 1919) which may skew their perception and definition of the actual nature of the problem. Managers are also prone to utilize strategies which worked for them in the past (Kanter, 1983) but which may be inappropriate in the new situation. If however, the managers cannot deal with the uncertainty created by these environmental factors by utilizing the current organizational processes, structure, and management of their human resources, then a crisis occurs which may require the organization to undergo strategic change if it is to survive.

Tichy's TPC theory appears to be extremely useful for human service organizations undergoing this type of crisis. By requiring the organization to endeavor to explicitly define the underlying values and pressures to which it must respond, it allows the management to identify the areas where re-alignment must occur in order to achieve a new equilibrium. This is particularly abstract and subtle. Tichy's theory therefore provides a useful framework through which organizational behavior and design within human service organizations can be made to more closely accord with the societal values and normative goals set for them by society.

In conclusion, since human service organizations appear on the whole more complex than other formal organizations due to the general subjectivity of the outcomes of their services, organizational change within these organizations is also more complex. Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory," which seems to enable a synthesis of preceding functionalist organization theory, appears to be especially useful in enabling these organizations to analyze and deal with the uncertainties they encounter. Although those in some human service organizations may find it difficult to explicitly determine organizational values due to their unresolved status in society (i.e., pro-life vs. pro-choice), Tichy's theory appears to provide an excellent instrument to identify and assess the organizational variables essential for the organizational change required to deal with these uncertainties.

PART II: METHODOLOGY AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

Purpose Of The Study

The purpose of this empirical research is two fold: (1) to examine the impact of an exogenously generated fiscal reduction on the groups of organizational stakeholders.

(2) to assess the applicability of Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory" for describing and analyzing changes in human service organizations;

The case study methodology has been utilized to achieve these purposes. The qualitative results of the case study were generated using categories developed from Tichy's theoretical perspective.

Arguments For A Case Study

According to Robert Yin (1984), a case study is an empirical inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and which

- multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984: 23).

This research fulfills this definition of a case study in that it investigates the impact of managerial decisions within the real-life context of the human service organization. Though Tichy's theoretical framework was utilized to conceptualize the impact of these decisions, it was still difficult to operationally delineate the boundaries between the impact of the decisions and the organizational context in which the occurred. Finally, the description and analysis of these impacts have been gleaned from numerous sources.

According Yin, there are at least four different applications for case studies. These are:

1. To explain the cause of links in real-life interventions that are too complex for surveys or experimental strategies;
2. to describe the real-life context in which an intervention has occurred;
3. to provide a description of the intervention itself;
4. to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (1984: 25).

This study utilizes to some degree all four of the above-mentioned applications for case studies. The impact of managerial decisions in times of threatened strategic change may affect different components and systems of the organization as well as each other, creating very complex patterns of interaction. As noted by Richard Daft (1980), surveys and experimental strategies are insufficient to uncover an indepth understanding of the impact of these decisions. An account of the reactions of the major stakeholders in an organization while it is struggling to deal with an exogenously generated change, depicts the real life context in which the decisions occur. Finally, this study attempts to detail as clearly as possible the perceived impact of the relevant decisions on the other groups of stakeholders.

This method of inquiry is also suitable because of the category of theory in which Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory" falls.

According to William Skidmore (1975), theories are basically ideas which are put together and systematized in such a way that they are suggestive of explanations, models, and hypothesis. The objective of theory is to explain and predict. According to Skidmore,

> "explaining consists in relating somehow the conceptual problem or set of observations to a theoretical construction of reality which fits it. ... The desire to have the problem explained satisfactorily is really the desire to set things in order by inventing some scheme of ideas which gives a convincing definition and understanding of the problem at hand. If some scheme does seem to fit the facts or problem, then the act of demonstrating this by logical analysis, or by showing that the theoretical order is a good analogy to the real order, is 'explaining' the situation in theoretical terms" (1975: 65).

These explanations furnish ideas and suggestions of processes assumed to be as valid for the future as they are for the present. According to Skidmore, "prediction is entirely a matter of theory since, strictly speaking, there can be no empirical data on the future - it hasn't happened yet. But will or might happen can be foretold with reasonable accuracy by consulting theoretical studies" (Skidmore, 1975:65).

Although the general definition and purpose of all theories is basicly the same, Skidmore has identified the following three general types of theories:

1. Hypothetico-deductive or simply deductive theories,
2. pattern or concatenated theories, and
3. perspectives.

'Hypothetico-deductive' theories "consist of statements, arranged in a hierarchical order so that those at the top of the order are most general. These are statements of relationships among constructs in explanatory terms" (1975: 60). Intermediate or lower level statements are derivable from the statements above them by deductive logic. Hpothetico-deductive theories, then, are similar to a pyramid with specific hypotheses at the bottom, successfully more general statements stack on top of each other, and laws at the peak. Idealy, there is a smooth transition from high to low levels of generality which is produced by the deductive relationship among the statements. These statements then could be said to display a 'vertical' relatedness (Skidmore, 1975: 56-62).

In 'pattern' or 'concatenated' theories this vertical dimension is not as important as 'lateral' logic. These theories are composed of statements which are derivable from each other and are defined in terms of each other. According to Skidmore, "when finally finished, theories of this kind form a system which contains in it logical referents and derivations of each concept, so that with reference to the system each term or set of terms has an explanation. Hence, the system 'makes sense as a set of ideas" (1975: 62).

These theories are concerned less with hierarchies of deductive statements than with the internally defined and systematized arrangements of theoretical and explanatory terms. Pattern theories, therefore, have a natural tendency to be come 'closed systems' since the concepts gain their meaning from inside the pattern itself. According to Parsons, this theory is

> "a body of logically interdependent generalized concepts of empirical reference. Such a system tends, ideally, to become logically closed, to reach such a state of logical intergration that every logical implication of any combination of propositions in the system is explicitly stated in some other proposition of the same system" (Parsons, 1954: 212).

The application of patterned theory consists of identifying the relationships between the theoretical terms and reality. This involves an insightful exercise of knowing when and how to relate real experience to certain aspects of the pattern. When the concepts apply, it is appropriate to invoke the pattern as an explanation of reality.

Examples of patterned theory include Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical theory involving the relationship between the superego, ego and id; and Talcott Parsons' Structural-Functionalism which reports the seeking of an equilibrium between the culture system (pattern maintenance), the social system (integration), the personality system (goal attainment), and the behavioural organism (adaptation) (Parsons, 1977).

"Perspectives" are collections of concepts which point out important isolated aspects of reality. They are important basically as 'sensitizing' agents. According to Skidmore, "perspective are separated from patterned and deductive theories not by matters of kind so much as matters of degree.... A perspective provides a language in which to have discourse about a kind of reality, but it does not tell you specificly what to say in that language" (Skidmore: 65) although it usually specifies certain general processes. Symbolic Interactionism and Tichy's "T.P.C. Theory" are examples of perspectives. In general, then, perspective resemble patterned theory more than they do deductive theory.

Since each of the above categories of theories explain a different manner, it follows that their methods of verification may also differ. With hypothetical-deductive theories, hypotheses are derived from a theory by deduction. The hypotheses are logically true since they are implicitly contained in the general statements of the theory at a higher level of generalization. Through deduction, the generalization is applied to a specific case and hypotheses are produced.

This process may result in some hypotheses that are better than others - some empirically true, some empirically false. To test this, the hypotheses must refer to observables, either directly or indirectly. Thus, deductive theories must yield hypotheses which are specific. They must also be clear about the conditions under which to expect the hypotheses to hold. Since it is easier to decide that a theory is wrong when it produces an empirically false hypotheses and to decide a theory is right when it produces an empirically true hypotheses. Those hypotheses that do turn out to be false can point out necessary alterations in the theoretical structure. In this way, hypothetical-deductive theories are empirically refined.

In the case of pattern theories, there is no convenient hypotheses-producting mechanism which turn out logically true hypotheses. Instead, the theory must be interpreted in relation to the situation to be explained. The theory must be sufficiently well that one is confident that the facts observed are similar in nature to those conceptualized in the theory - that the facts fit the theory. Thus, the theory must be "of sufficient clarity and precision so that anyone familiar with it would, as a matter of common sense, can see that the description and explanation content of the theory had an interpretative application to a real situation" (Skidmore, 1975: 70).

A patterned theory is a reconstructed picture of reality which points out clearly the relationships among its parts. Application of this type of theory involves 'seeing' the reality on which the concepts and processes are based. Thus by reference to the theory, one develops ideas about relationships and processes that are to be expected in reality. These relationships can be sought either entirely mentally or mentally and empirically. When sought mentally, the researcher must interpret what he actually sees in terms of the theory, trying to uncover every aspect. If the researcher appears to give a reasonable and definitive picture of what is actually observed, then he can consider this to be evidence of the usefulness of the theory.

Alternatively, the researcher can proceed more empirically by interpreting what measures he might take and what observations he might expect to find. The correlations between these observations are sought not because there is evidence suggesting they should be there, but because the pattern suggests they should be. The evidence then confirms that part of the theory which suggests its existence. By implication, this confirms the whole pattern that gave rise to it (Skidmore, 1975: 60-71).

It is an adaptation of this latter more empirical method that is utilized by this study. In order to enhance the generalizability of this study, however, propositioned expectations, of a more heuristic nature rather than hypothetical-deductive hypotheses have been formulated. These expected findings utilize Tichy's perspective as the 'language' through which the observations and empirical data relating to the organization are categorized and interpreted.

Propositional Expectations

The major focus of this research is to examine the impact of managerial decision making as perceived by the various groups of organizational stakeholders when one of the major forces within the organizational environment undergoes a drastic change. According to Tichy's analytical framework, organizations are comprised of components and systems which must remain in alignment if the organization is to continue to be effective. The technical, political, and cultural systems are means through which the organization responds to the economic, political, and cultural pressures which exist in the organization and environment. It is therefore expected that:

1. A change in the economic pressures of the organizational environment will require the strategic level managers of the organization to first focus on decisions for changes in the technical system.

According to Tichy, a change in one or more of the components of one system may create a misalignment between that system and one or both of the other systems. Since the strategic managers are the ones with the responsibility and authority to implement these changes, they are the ones who must make the changes. It is therefore expected that:

2. The impact of the changes in the technical system will require the strategic managers to focus on the political system to see if this system needs to be realigned.

As noted by social psychologists in the late 1950's (Festinger, 1957; Rosenberg, 1960; Katz, 1960), affects and attitudes are very difficult to change. Tichy reinforces this finding by acknowledging that uncertainty within the cultural system usually peaks less frequently over time than peaks of uncertainty in the technical and political systems. Also, since individuals' values and beliefs are usually taken for granted and thus not normally questioned, managers do not usually focus on the cultural system.

As noted in Chapter 2 above however, human service organizations are unique in that their goals are primarily commitment to certain values, norms and ideologies (Hasenfeld and English, 1975). An organization which delivers its services primarily through one type of professional is expected to attain a high degree of value consensus - particularity if these professionals all utilize the same technology. It is therefore expected that:

3. Given a high value consensus, the cultural system will undergo the least amount of attention and change as the groups of stakeholders in the organization try to interpret and justify their decisions utilizing the same values and assumptions used previously to provide a sense of historical continuity and evolution.

Tichy acknowledges that the impetus for change can develop both within the organization as well as from without. As noted by proposition two above, the intra-organizational changes in one of the organization systems, may require complementary changes in the other systems. Political pressures may be generated within the organizational environment by individuals and groups who have a special interest in the outcome of an organization.

In the case of non-profit human service organizations, concerns may develop in two areas. First, the recipients and their advocates may develop concerns regarding the quality of services delivered. Secondly, the funders of the program (e.g. tax payers) may develop concerns regarding the efficient use of the resources required to deliver the services. Since persons usually contact firstly those identified by organizational structure and protocol as being able to help them with their concerns, it is expected that:

4. those stakeholders that fall outside of the hierarchy of the organization (i.e., the parents and legal guardians, and the bureaucrats) will endeavour to influence changes in the organizational systems first, directly and if unsuccessful, then indirectly through trying to influence the political forces relevant to the organization.

Methedology

Information Sources

In this study, Triangulation (Denzin, 1975) was utilized to establish the chain of events and to minimize error and bias. The sources of information included the following:

- Former program and managerial evaluations,
- internal memos and minutes of meetings,
- documents and publications from both the organization and the government department of which it was apart,
- clippings of articles from external sources (i.e., newspapers and newsletters),
- the transcripts from formal intensive interviews with representatives of two external stake holder groups (i.e., departmental bureaucrats and the parents and guardians of the clients), representatives of the organizational stakeholder groups (i.e., the executives at the strategic level, the managers at the middle management level, and the staff at the operational level).

- Personal research field notes recording interactional observations on both informal and formal sessions.

These information sources were used to establish the following:

1. A brief historical account of the development of the organization;

2. an analytical overview of the impact of the fiscal restraint on the organization from the viewpoint of each of five stakeholder groups including - issues identified by each of the groups, how these issues were perceived to be dealt with by the strategic managers, and a description of the perceived impact of these managerial decisions regarding these issues.

Instruments

The major instruments used to collect data for this research consisted of the field notes of the researcher and the interview schedule of open questions. Handwritten process recording notes were initially taken by the researcher as he participated in the formal and informal meetings as a known participant observer. The handwritten field notes were then transcribed and summarized as soon after the event as possible (usually within 24 hours).

The second major source of information was obtained from transcripts of the tape recorded intensive interviews in which the researcher utilized an interview schedule consisting of open ended questions (see appendix A). The questions contained in the interview schedule were designed to elicit comments from the respondents regarding their perceptions of the impact the fiscal restraint had on each of the three organizational components (mission/strategy, organization structure, and human resource management) in each of Tichy's three organization systems (technical, political, and cultural).

The interview schedule started with the organization structure and followed it through the technical, political, and cultural systems. For example, the first question (what is your job?) elicited responses regarding what the individual perceived as the tasks he or she performed and the administrative units in which they operated. The researcher then probed as to whether the respondent perceived that the tasks were appropriately differentiated and coordinated by the current organization structure (i.e., if they were in alignment). Next, the researcher inquired as to the effect the respondent perceived the fiscal restraint had on his or her job in order to determine the respondent's perception of any changes.

This pattern was followed for each of the questions listed on the interview schedule (see appendix A). The relationship among these codes reflects the nine cells of Tichy's theory. Table 9 below outlines these relationships.

	MISSION/ STRATEGY	ORGANIZATION DESIGN	HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
TECHNICAL SYSTEM	TM	TD	TH
POLITICAL SYSTEM	PM	PD	PH
CULTURAL SYSTEM	CM	CD	CH

LEGEND

T = Technical System
P = Political System
C = Cultural System

M = Mission/Strategy
D = Organization Design (Structure)
H = Human Resource Management

TABLE 9. Coding According to Tichy's Framework

The transcripts of these interviews were then reviewed and the responses coded utilizing the thirty codes outlined below.

Codes

TM - SCAN - Assessing environmental threats and opportunities

TM - ORG - Assessing organizational strengths and weaknesses

TM - ALIGN - Amount of change required in refining the mission and fitting resources to accomplish it

TD - DIFF - Differentiation of the organization of work into roles

TD - INT - Integration through recombining roles into departments, divisions, etc.

TD - ALIGN - Amount of change required in defining reporting relationships and groupings of people and departments to meet business needs

TH - PEOP - Fitting people to roles

TH - CRIT - Specifying performance criteria to roles

TH - PERF - Measuring performance

TH - DEVEL - Staffing and development to fill roles

TH - STYLE - Management style of key staff

TH - ALIGN - Amount of change required in methods of staffing, development and assessment of people

PM - INFL - Determination of those who influence mission and strategy

PM - DEC - managing coalition behaviour around strategic decisions

PM - ALIGN - Amount of change required in who gets to influence the mission and strategy of the organization

PD - ROLE - Distribution of power across role structure

PD - ALIGN - Amount of change required in the distribution of power in the organization both across the organization and up and down the organization

PH - SUC - Managing succession politics

PH - REW - Design and administration of reward system

PH - MAN - Managing the politics of appraisal

PH - ALIGN - Amount of change required in managing the politics of succession, reward system and appraisal

CM - MAN - Managing the influence values and philosophy on the mission and strategy

CM - ALIGN - Amount of change required in developing a culture or set of values to support the business strategy

CD - SUB - Development of subcultures to support roles

CD - ORG. CULT. - Integration of subcultures to create a company culture

CD - ALIGN - Amount of change required in developing a managerial style and culture to fit the organization

CH - IND. VAL. - Selection of people to build or reinforce organizational culture

CH - SOC - Development (socialization) to mold the organizational culture

CH - REW - Management of rewards to shape and reinforce the organization culture

CH - ALIGN - Amount of change required in the selection and development of staff, and the development of rewards consistent with the organization's values and culture

INFORMAL - indicators of support and information sharing that fall outside of the formal channels of communication.

OUTPUT - perceived indicators of the services provided by the organization

The basic questions of the interview schedule reflected the matrix of nine cells outlined in Table 3 above. The researcher asked the respondents for their preceptions of that particular topic. The researcher then probed with further open ended questions based on the response. Once this area had been exhausted, the researcher asked the respondents for their perceptions as to the effect or impact the fiscal restraint had on that particular topic area. The responses were then coded according to the subcodes listed above for each of the stakeholders groups. A group perspective was developed by aggregating these responses checking for outliers (drastically different opinions) as well as similarities. The group perspectives were then compared with one another to identify areas of alignment and misalignment.

After each interview was coded, the transcripts were scanned to see if any substantive information had been missed by the codes. This ethnographic (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Handel, 1982; Lofland and Lofland, 1984) approach enabled each of the respondents to express their opinions regarding these variables utilizing their own terms of reference. This phenomenological approach (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) enhanced the validity of this instrument by endeavoring to have the respondents make explicit (via the probing questions) the social constructs they were using to interpret the meaning of the questions. In this way, the researcher could make every attempt to ensure that the respondents understood the essence of that particular question as it related to the particular component of Tichy's framework being discussed.

Frequently, throughout the interview, the researcher also summarized the respondent's comments and asked the respondent to verify the validity of the researcher's interpretation of his/her responses. If the respondent agreed with the interpretation the researcher continued with the interview schedule. If the respondent did not entirely agree, then the researcher asked the respondent to clarify the situation. The interviewer did not proceed further until both felt satisfied that the researcher understood what the respondent had meant. The responses to the questions therefore became the valid operational specifications of that component of Tichy's perspective for that individual.

Based on the assumption that the frames of references of the individuals within each of the group levels were basically the same since they shared common responsibilities and social settings, it is argued that the aggregation of these individual perspectives into a group perspective through content analyses utilizing by Tichy's categories resulted in a valid group perspective for each of the nine cells outlined in tables 3 and 9 above.

Validity and Reliability

According to Briggs (1986) validity "refers to the accuracy of a given technique, that is, the extent which the results conform to the characteristics of the phenomena in question" (Ibid.: 23). Four types of validity have been identified. Firstly, 'content', 'face' or 'apparent' validity involves examining the possibility of results. It is usually established through the formed judgement of the investigator who examines the results of the questions and measurements to see if they are consistent with other information about the phenomenon being studied (Holsti, 1969: 143). Secondly, 'predictive' validity is "the ability of an instrument to predict events for which evidence is not at present available to the analyst" (1969: 144). This occurs when the data can be used to predict the occurrence of events. Thirdly, 'concurrent' validity, the ability of a measure to distinguish sources with differences, is established if the instrument can be shown that "observations match those generated by an alternative procedure that is itself accepted as valid" (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 22). This is also known as 'instrumental' validity. Finally, 'construct' validity of an instrument is demonstrated when there is substantial evidence that the theoretical paradigm rightly corresponds to the observations (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). Thus construct validity is concerned not only with validating the measure but also the theory. The theory then explains why a variable is a good predictor of another variable or is capable of discriminating between various types of individuals. "One criteria of construct validity is that hypotheses derived from the theory should yield similar results in different settings" (Holsti: 148), thus the results can be generalized to other situations rather than be specific to the single research situation.

The first three types of validity comprise the internal validity or the "truth value" (Guba and Lincoln, 1983) of the study. They involve establishing confidence in the truth of the findings of the particular inquiry for the subjects with which (and the context within which) the inquiry was carried out (1983: 103). Construct validity on the other hand, is concerned with external validity which is the degree to which findings of a particular inquiry may have applicability in other contexts or with other subjects.

In qualitatives research, the issue of validity is "a question of whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she see" (Kirk and Miller, 1986:22). It is the assurance that the researcher has accurately identifies and labelled the variables.

Validity is based on the assumption

> "that there is such a thing as calling things by their right names, and this in turn depends on the assumption that there is a common world and that language's relation to it is not wholly arbitrary" (Graff, 1979:90)

According to Kirk;Miller (1986) qualitatives researchers do not report on studies objects so much as they report on their interaction with the objects. They are also at the mercy of the 'world views' of their subjects. Asking the right questions (Raiffa, 1968) therefore is essential to eliciting valid responses.

In this study the researcher validated the data in three ways. Firstly, during the taped interviews he frequently verbally summarized what he/she had said in response to the interview schedule questions. This gave the respondent the opportunity to correct the interpretation of the data immediately. It also gave the researcher the opportunity to ensure that the respondent understood the essence of the question. Secondly, all respondents were asked if they wanted to receive a copy of the transcript of their interview to review, correct any misinterpretations which appeared to occur during the interview. Nine (9) of the supervisors, all three (3) of the strategic managers, one (1) of the bureauracrats and three (3) of the parents requested and received their transcripts for this purpose. No one requested changes.

Finally, the interpretations from the grouped data were discussed with the supervisors, the strategic managers and the parents at three separate meetings where they were asked to comment on the validity of the interpretation. All changes and additional information were noted and incorporated.

Webb et al. (1966:174) have argued that the most fertile search for validity comes from a combined series of different measures. Kirk and Miller (1986) view field research as facilitating this process by enabling the researcher to test emerging hypothesis through a variety of ways as he or she engages in the face-to-face contact of the pragmatic routine of everyday life during the study period. Both of these procedures were followed in this research. Data received from the interviews, participant, observation notes, and written material were all compared with one another. The emerging interpretations were discussed during the natural course of events during the study period.

Reliability is the other test of rigor that those conducting scientific inquiry must meet. Reliability is the repeatability of the scientific inquiry. It depends essentially on the degree of explicitness of the described procedures. Kirk and Miller (1986) have distinguished three kinds of reliability. 'Quixotic' reliability refers to the circumstances in which a single method of observation continually leads an unvarying measurement. 'Diachronic' reliability refers to the stability of an observation through time. 'Synchronic' reliability refers to the similarity of observations within the same time period. Unlike Quixotic reliability, Synchronic reliability rarely involves identical observations but rather observations that are consistent with respect to the particular features of interest to the observer. It can be evaluated by comparisons of data elicited by alternate forms (Kirk and Miller, 1983: 41-42).

Guba and Lincoln (1981: 120) have argued that reliability (or in their terms, 'consistency') as an issue need not be faced directly in naturalistic inquiries since it is impossible to have internal validity without reliability. Thus a demonstration of internal validity amounts to a simultaneous demonstration of reliability.

Kirk and Miller (1986) argue however that reliability in qualitative research can and must be addressed through a thorough documentation of investigator's procedure. According to Kirk and Miller, "this must be accomplished at such a level of abstraction that the loci of decisions internal to the research project are made apparent" (1986: 72). They propose a four-phase model of the ethnographic process which sharply characterizes activities as falling within the purview of either Invention (research design), Discovery (data collection), Interpretation (analysis), or Explanation (documentation). They argue that by completing one phase before moving to the next phase and by completing all phases, reliability will be greatly enhanced (1986: 72-73). This is the process utilized by this study.

Reliability and validity are important in scientific inquiry because without them it would be difficult to accumulate an objective body of cumulative knowledge. In the natural sciences objectivity is obtained in two ways:

1) Experience is reported in such a way that it is accessible to and can be replicated by others;

2) the results are reported in terms of theoretically meaningful variables that are measured in ways that are themselves justifiable in terms of relevant theories (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 13-14).

Kirk and Miller (1986) argue that social inquiry, based on the metaphysical perspective that reality is something 'out there in the real world' and also something 'inside our heads', can still meet the rigors required by objectivity. Observations of both phenomena are appropriate to field research (1986: 71). They conclude that the problem of validity is handled by field research and the problem of reliability is handled by documented ethnographic decision making (1986: 73).

In summary, the type of reliability of importance to this study is synchronic reliability which is achieved through triangulation. Different data sources have been used to document the sequence of events. Tichy's perspectives was used to develop thirty codes to summarize, synthesize and analyze the data. The perceived impact of the events as determined through the various data collection instruments, was interpreted by categorizing the data according to these codes for the five group categories.

Target Groups

The subjects of this study fall into two categories: those representing the levels within the organization; and those representing the important forces in the organizational environment.

The groups internal to the organization were representative of Tichy's differentiation of the strategic, managerial and operational levels. Group one consisted of the four persons who comprised the strategic level of the organization. This group consisted of the director of the organization, the two program directors, and the business manager. Group two, the managerial level, consisted of the fourteen group home supervisors. Each of these supervisors were responsible for managing the human and other resources required to enable the group home to carry out the mission. Group three consisted of a representative sample of all of the staff positions in the group home that were working directly with the clients.

Group 4 consisted of representatives of the cultural and political force in the external environment which was trying to retain the status quo for the services of this client group. It consisted mainly of those parents and guardians that were quite actively involved in making their wishes known to the organization and to those who were influential in the system to which the organization belonged (i.e., the minister and the bureaucrats). The fifth group consisted of those representing the economic force to reduce the fiscal resources. It was comprised of the four bureaucrats who represented the four organizational levels between the agency and the Minister and through which the request for a reduction in fiscal resources was channeled. These persons also had the authority to modify the intensity of the reduction for this specific organization.

Ethics

Ethical considerations for this study include the following three basic questions.

- Should these groups be studied?
- How will information from opposing groups be utilized?
- How and when will anonymity be protected?

All the groups appearing in the study were interdependently related. The parents and guardians of the severely mentally disabled residents served by this organization had developed a unique participatory position. The staff and managers of the organization had enabled relevant participation from the parents in turns of the treatment and development of their children. This appears to be a rare event in the endeavors of human service organizations. A description and analysis of their impact on the planning and administration of the organization as well could enlighten theories of participatory planning and provide a model for other client and advocacy groups.

Also, the vast majority of those who have conducted traditional organizational studies have viewed the organization only from the managerial perspective. This may be due in part because they receive their base of legitimation from and through the management. The perceived impact of changes as viewed by those representing the other levels of the organization and as viewed by those representing forces outside the organization does seem to warrant further study.

Since the groups within the organization appeared to well balanced in terms of their power, exposing the intricacies of one group to the other may have resulted in a power shift. However, the researcher made it clear at the onset that the final report would be available publicly. In order to establish and retain trust- worthiness (Patton, 1980: 170-172; Handel, 1982: 68-73) any specific concerns from the respondents regarding the information they gave was appropriately addressed at the time between the researcher and those individuals. The researcher assured the respondents of confidentiality at the time of the interview. Because of this, the researcher did not discuss any of the information obtained from the other interviews with the respondents.

Each individual participating in this study was assured of anonymity in the written report. Locations, gender, and other identifying information was either omitted or changed when individual examples were sighted. A list of the survey respondents was kept only for administrative purposes. The anonymity of those interviewed was ensured by combining individual comments to formulate a group perspective for each of the stakeholder groups. Pseudonyms were used when quotes included the names of specific individuals. The references noted for the direct quotes in this paper are in code and refer to their location in the fieldnotes and transcripts.

Consent to tape-record the sessions was obtained from all those formally interviewed. A transcript of the interview was delivered to those persons who requested it. These persons were invited to discuss any comments they might have regarding the interview with the researcher - for purposes of validation, clarification, and addition of further information. However, since the transcripts were approximately forty pages per interview, none of the respondents who requested and received copies of their interviews contacted the researcher. All tapes were erased once the transcripts were typed.

Case Study Phases

The study consisted of four phases: Research design, data collection, data analysis and documentation.

During the design phase the general research question was refined, relevant literature reviewed, the interview schedule compiled and the basic format of the study designed. Arrangements were then made with the organization and government department to construct the study.

The data collection phase started with an orientation. The purpose of the one month orientational phase was not only to introduce the researcher to the various individuals and groups within the organization, but also to familiarize the staff with the purpose and method of the study and to establish the 'trustworthiness' of the researcher (Patton, 1980: 170). During this period the researcher dealt straight forwardly with any individual or group concerns raised.

An initial review of the relevant documents (e.g. the original organizational plan, program evaluations, special reports, and minutes of organizational meetings) was conducted to establish and initial orientation to the organization for the researcher. During this phase, the researcher and his role (known participant observer) were introduced to the management and staff of the organization as well as to the parent groups. The purpose of this phase was to ensure that the management, staff, and parents viewed this inquiry as primarily an academic study and became accustomed to the presence of the researcher. The researcher kept field notes of his involvement summarizing and coding the contents using both descriptive categories (Schwortz and Jacobs, 1979; Lofland and Lofland, 1984) and the categories based on Tichy's conceptual model.

The intensive data collection phase consisted of the five months following the one month orientation. During this phase the researcher recorded the results of informal conversational interviews, the formal tape-recorded intensive interviews, as well as the formal and informal meetings that occurred throughout the organization during that time period.

Of the fourteen group homes run by the organization, seven of them were selected for the intensive interviews of the staff (operational level). These homes were selected by the strategic level managers responsible for them. There was unanimous agreement among the strategic level and the managerial level managers that these seven homes were representative of the fourteen homes and that the selection did not appear to be biased. The opinions of some of the staff of the other homes were obtained through their attendance of special staff meetings and through informal conversations. Their opinions and perceptions did not appear to differ from the range of opinions and perceptions received from the staff of the seven selected homes.

During this time period the researcher collected and read all relevant documents and correspondence that were received and generated by the strategic level managers, kept extensive participant-observation notes, and conducted the intensive interviews. The documents and correspondence from the organization and the department were scrutinized in order to obtain the official views of the organization's goals and progress. The documents were also used to ascertain issues relevant to the management of the organizations and the means by which they were dealt.

The researcher attended every meeting held at the headquarters of the organization. This included management meetings (strategic level), unit meetings (managerial level), and the special meetings called in which all levels of staff are represented to discuss the specific issues as they arose. The researcher was also involved in many informal gatherings and discussions (e.g. coffee breaks, lunches, bull sessions, etc.). He also attended all of the Parent Advisory Committee meetings that occurred during this time period.

The field notes, which were written as soon as possible after the event (usually within 24 hours). They were then transcribed onto IBM Compatible floppy disks via a wordprocessing program in order to retain the information in both electronic and hard copy media. The notes consisted of the following five components: 1) Running descriptions, 2) previously forgotten happenings that were recalled, 3) analytical ideas and inferences, 4) personal impressions and feelings, 5) notes for further investigation (Lofland, 1971: 104-106). The information contained in these notes were also categorized using the codes. Any information obtained that could not be categorized utilizing these codes, were categorized reflexively (Garfinkel, 1967: 7-9; Handel, 1982: 34-39; Hammersly and Atkinson 1983: 144-206; Glasser and Strauss, 1967).

The semi-structured intensive interviews were conducted utilizing an interview guide (see appendix A) to ensure that the questions were asked in a consistent manner and that all areas of concern were covered in the interview. The interview consisted mainly of open-ended questions to facilitate a free flow of conversation and permit the exploration of new aspects that arose spontaneously during the interview. These interviews were also transcribed verbatim utilizing an IBM Compatible wordprocessing program.

The data analysis and documentation phases commenced after the completion of the five month data collection fees and the researcher withdrew from the organization. During these phases the researcher also contacted various persons to clarify perceptions and supplement the information. Near the end of the documentation phase, the researcher also met formerly with the strategic level managers, the staff as a whole, and the parent group in three separate meetings to relate the findings and test the validity of the information received, the interpretation made, and the codes utilized. Changes were made in accordance with the results of these meetings.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL SERVICES IN ALBERTA: ORIGINS OF AN INNOVATIVE PROGRAM

The Province of Alberta is the most westernly of the three prairie provinces in Canada. It has a total area of more than two hundred and fifty thousand square miles with the eastern border following the hundred and ten (110) degree longitude and its western border following hundred and twenty (120) degree longitude until fifty-four (54) degrees latitude where it follows the great divide of the Rocky Mountains south to the Canada US border just about Montana. The northern half of the Province consists primarily of wilderness made up of forests and muskegs. The central part of the Province is comprised of scattered forests and plains. This area has developed into rich farming regions. Southern Alberta consists of the prairies with their great ranches and farms irrigated by rivers. The economy of the Province depends Primarily on its natural non-renewable resources (particularly oil) and from mixed grain farming (primarily wheat).

The Province of Alberta was carved out of the Northwest Territories of Canada in 1905, under the auspices of the Alberta Act. All of the provisions of the law therefore, which were in effect in the Northwest Territories before 1905 continued until they were specifically amended or rescinded by statutes.

Since 1905, the Province has undergone four phases of political development. The Liberals were in power from the inaugural election in

1905 until their defeat in 1921. In 1921 the United Farmers of Alb (UFA) were elected into power as part of an agrarian protest that swe Western Canada during this period. In 1935, the Social Credit Government Was elected as a reaction to the great depression, to corruption in the USA, and to a sense of exploitation by dominant economic interests in the Province of Alberta (Bella, 1978). Finally, the Progressive Conservative Party was elected in 1971 and continues as the current Government of the Province.

The Liberal Era: 1905-1921

In 1905, the population of the newly formed Province was 185,412, the vast majority of which lived on farms. The first Provincial Government elected were the Liberals under the leadership of Alexander Rutherford's. The primary focus of this early Government was to lay the foundations for the social and economic development of the Province. To do this, the Liberal Government approached the financiers in central Canada (Leadbeater, 1984). Rapid economic growth occurred from 1905 peaking in late 1912 when the first major depression in the twentieth century hit Alberta. The Province remained in this depression until 1915 when the economy expanded under the added stimulus of more mobilization which peaked in 1917 and continued until a traumatic post-war collapse in 1919 (Ibid.). From the start of World War I in August of 1914 to its conclusion in 1918, the cost of living in the Province increased 72%. By the end of June 1920 prices were double their 1914 level (Caragata, 1984: 115). These economic problems in addition to a reaction from predominantly rural population to the urban business and professional base of the liberals, resulted in the Liberals being removed from power in 1921.

During this early period, however, the Liberals commenced the development of Social Services for the Province. The first Minister responsible for this area was the Attorney General who was established as the Minister responsible for "the examination of papers in connection with the admission and discharge of lunatics to and from asylums" (Province of Alberta, The Statutes: chapter 6). "Prairie Madness" was the major concern during this time period. This was a phenomena said to have been caused by the extreme isolation occurring in uninhabited areas (Krewski, 1980: 7). During this period, the "insane" were normally placed in provincial or local gaols until they could be placed in an asylum. The less severe patients were admitted to the Medicine Hat General Hospital, while the more severe cases were sent for confinement to Brandon, Manitoba under an agreement with that Provincial Government.

The Insanity Act of 1907 authorized the commitment of a person suspected of being insane or dangerous to a gaol or to the custody of a friend or relative before being placed in an asylum. It also authorized the Attorney General to temporarily use any building until the first asylum at Ponoka, Alberta was opened in 1911. Maintenance expenses for the insane were borne by the person, his relatives or his estate. The management of these matters fell under the offices of the Attorney General until 1918 when they were transferred to the Provincial Treasurer.

Adults that were "severely defective" were also cared for in the asylum in Brandon before 1911 and in Ponoka thereafter. Many others however, were employed on farms and were absorbed into the formal life style of the rural communities (Krewski: 8). In 1918 the Department of Education established the first facility in Alberta for "mentally defective children" on the south side of the City of Edmonton (the capital of the Province).

During the latter part of this period, a new theology in the churches in Southern and Central Alberta led to a social gospel movement and a vigorous campaign for moral reform in the Province. These emerging ideals in addition to the growing suffragette movement in the Province resulted in the Prohibition Act (1916) and the Suffrage Act in (1916) (McLean, 1969). These movements all resulted in concerns that the "white race" was losing its purity. Support for an eugenics movement, therefore began to grow (Chapman, 1977).

In 1919, the Liberal Government Passed the Mentally Defective Persons Act which defined "defectives" as "persons incapable of managing their own affairs" (Alberta, Statutes, 1919: chapter 21). An amendment to this act in the following year insured that the municipal district in which the defective person resided assumed the cost for maintenance while institutional care continued (Alberta, Statutes, 1920: chapter 4).

The United Farmers of Alberta: 1921-1935

According to Leadbeater, "the United Farmers of Alberta, elected in the summer of 1921 appeared as a movement of the "pioneer farmer", but one distinctly white, anglo-saxon and protestant. While the Liberals' support was based mainly in the business and professional strata of the growing urban segments in Alberta, the UFA drew its support from rural areas among farmers, including their upper strata, and certain professionals" (Leadbeater, 1984: 40). The UFA movement however, was by no means homogeneous. Many of the key members were urban professionals and not working farmers. Also, there was considerable differentiation between the wealthier and poorer farmers. This eventually resulted in a deep cleavage and immobilism over the party's general political direction, with UFA cabinet leadership gradually drifting to the right. These conflicts were exacerbated by the great depression with one faction eventually developing into the Social Credit Party which was elected in the summer of 1935.

During the UFA era however, a number of major changes took place in the Social Services area. Responsibility for mentally defective children was transferred from the Department of Education to the Department of Public Health. The administration for the Provincial insane asylums was also transferred to the health department from the Department of Public Works.

During the UFA period, the institutional framework of services for the mentally diseased and deficient continued to grow. In 1922 plans were proceeding for the construction of a two hundred bed home for mental defective in Oliver. The Provincial Mental Hospital at Ponoka had eight hundred and twelve patients by the end of 1929, and another one hundred a six patients resided at the Hospital for Returned Soldiers in Red Deer. Because of over crowding in the South Side Home in Edmonton, the Province made the decision to transfer the patients at the Red Deer Hospital to Oliver (which became a facility for the chronically insane) and send the 'mentally defective' patients from the South Side Home to Red Deer (which became known as the Provincial Training School). All admissions for mental patients however, were made through the hospital at Ponoka.

In 1924 the UFA Government reflected changes in the mental health field by passing the Insanity Act. This act reflected the growing medical influence in this field by changing the term "insanity" to "mental disease" and in a term "asylum" to "hospital". This act also made provisions for voluntary admissions.

Four years later in 1928, the UFA Government passed the Sexual Sterilization Act, based on the strong belief that heredity was the cause for mental disease. This act created a eugenics board to review all discharges and authorize a surgical procedure "if the danger of procreation with its attendant risk of multiplication of the evil by transmission of the disability to progeny." (Alberta, Statutes, 1928: chapter 37).

The depression in the early 1930's left many of the farmers and businesses in Alberta indebted to financiers in central Canada. The

Social Credit Party emerged from the rifts created in the UFA party with a philosophy which appealed to the majority of the electorate.

The Social Credit Era: 1935-1971

In the summer of 1935, the Social Credit Government was elected into power. The Social Credit platform was based on four cornerstone policies, and beliefs. First, they promised monetary reform to enable the citizens in the Province to free themselves from the economic interests of Eastern Canada. This policy was based on a proposal designed by Major Douglas to allow the indebted small farmers of the Province to generate the spending power necessary to overcome the depression through the provision of extensive credit and through a social dividend to the people (Douglas, 1934).

The second cornerstone was a belief in the sanctity of the individual and of the free enterprise economy. These were equated with democracy, freedom, and the teachings of Christ. The antithesis of the Social Credit system therefore, was considered to be socialism, collectivism, atheism, end the welfare state (Bella, 1978).

An affirmation of the Protestant Work Ethic provided the basis for the third corner stone. William Aberhart, the leader of the Social Credit Party, and a fundamentalist religious leader, believed that to be payed without working was demoralizing and destructive to man's initiative. This was similar to Max Weber's conceptualization of the Protestant Work Ethic. According to Weber, Martin Luther taught that the way to achieve eternal life was "solely through the fulfillment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world" (Weber, 1976: 80).

The fourth corner stone was a sincere belief in christian charity. The Social Creditors shared a human concern for their fellow man based on the teachings of Christ. This belief, that it was their christian duty to be charitable to those less fortunate, resulted in social policy goals that were directed towards the elimination of poverty and the establishment of a quality of life that was described as "the maximization of welfare" (Bella, 1978, 21-22).

The social programs developed by the Social Credit Government reflected a sense that economic security would solve social problems. Monetary reform was sought by Social Credit as a panacea for social ills. They proposed that "with the coming of Social Credit, "welfare" would wither away" (Bella, 1978: 35). The social welfare programs therefore, were regarded as residual (Guest, 1980), tending to emphasis income support programs, particularly for the 'deserving poor' such as the aged.

During the thirty six year reign of the Social Credit party, there was a general growth in Government spending. Bella (1981) has argued that although this was not consistent with Social Credit rhetoric which deplored big Government bureaucracy in the welfare state, this was due to a combination of factors. First, there was a general rise in prosperity in the Province due to the discovery of oil and a general rise of wheat prices. Secondly, the policy makers from the bureaucracy, incrementally recommended expansion of Government social programs. According to Bella, "while provincial politicians decried the welfare state, provincial administrators installed it. With this conflict in goals, the process of implementation had to be incremental .... So the welfare state was introduced to Alberta in a series of steps, logically sequential, but none individually sufficiently significant to threaten those who feared the welfare state, and intermingled with contradictory but token efforts to "prevent" the welfare state" (Ibid.: 171).

In the late 1930's, several privately operated homes were approved to house mental defectives who required some form of special care (order-in council 216, 1936, and 318, 1938). The Province also moved to have municipalities provide financial support for the defectives residing in institutions by collecting from them directly or placing caveats on their land (Krewski: 29).

In 1939, a mental institute was established as a goal for prisoners suspected of being mentally deficient at the facility for the chronically insane at Oliver. According to the Annual Report of the Department of Public Health, the number of residents in mental hospitals totaled three thousand and nine (3009) by 1943 (Annual Report of the Department of Public Health, 1943: 25).

During the 1950's, the language of health and welfare underwent another dramatic change. "Relief" and "hospitals" were changed to "insurance plans", "allowances" and "services for the aged" as the Province sought to implement many of the ideas proposed during vigorous debates in the

1930's. (Krewski: 35). During this period the province prospered as a result of rising grain and oil prices (see table below). This, in turn resulted in a period of further diversification of the programs in both the health and social welfare areas.

For example, a private scheme for medical coverage was established in 1948 with the incorporation of Medical Services (Alberta). The first hospital insurance program which went beyond the former system of premiums and subsidies by ratepayers was introduced on April 1, 1958 with the Federal Government contributing approximately 35%. The insurance program was extended to auxiliary hospitals in 1959 and was followed by the Auxiliary Hospitals Act of 1960 which authorized the establishing of chronic treatment hospitals. In 1967 the Alberta Health Care Plan was introduced which provided universal coverage for basic services to all Albertans.

By 1971, the expenditures for the Department of Health and Social Development totaled $188,464,641 consisting of $138,365,451 for health and $50,099,190 for Social Development. These figures indicate that the expenditures in this area increased seven and one half (7½) times since 1951 (Krewski, 1980).

The Progressive Conservative Era: 1971-Present

In 1971, the population of Alberta was 1,627,875 of which approximately three quarters lived in the urban areas of the province (see table 10 below). Approximately one half of the Provincial population were concentrated in the two cities of Edmonton and Calgary (about four hundred thousand (400,000) in each city).

Year	Total No.	Rural No.	Percent of Total	Urban No.	Percent of Total
1901	73,022	61,171	83.8	11,851	16.2
1911	374,295	264,359	70.6	109,936	29.4
1921	588,454	411,284	69.9	177,170	30.1
1931	731,605	503,723	68.9	227,882	31.1
1941	796,169	545,564	68.5	250,605	31.5
1951	939,501	509,413	54.2	430,088	45.8
1961	1,331,944	480,368	36.1	851,576	63.9
1966	1,463,203	455,796	31.2	1,007,407	68.8
1971	1,627,875	429,045	26.0	1,198,830	74.0
1976	1,838,040	458,875	25.0	1,379,165	75.0
1981	2,237,724	510,179	22.8	1,727,545	77.2
1986	2,375,278	497,520	20.9	1,877,758	79.1

Table 10 : POPULATION - RURAL & URBAN, NUMERICAL & PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, ALBERTA: 1901 - 1986 (figures taken from Statistics Canada).

As summarized in tables a, b and c below, the Province enjoyed an economic boom from the 1970's through to the beginning of the 1980's. This boom was brought on by drastic rises in the prices of oil and wheat.

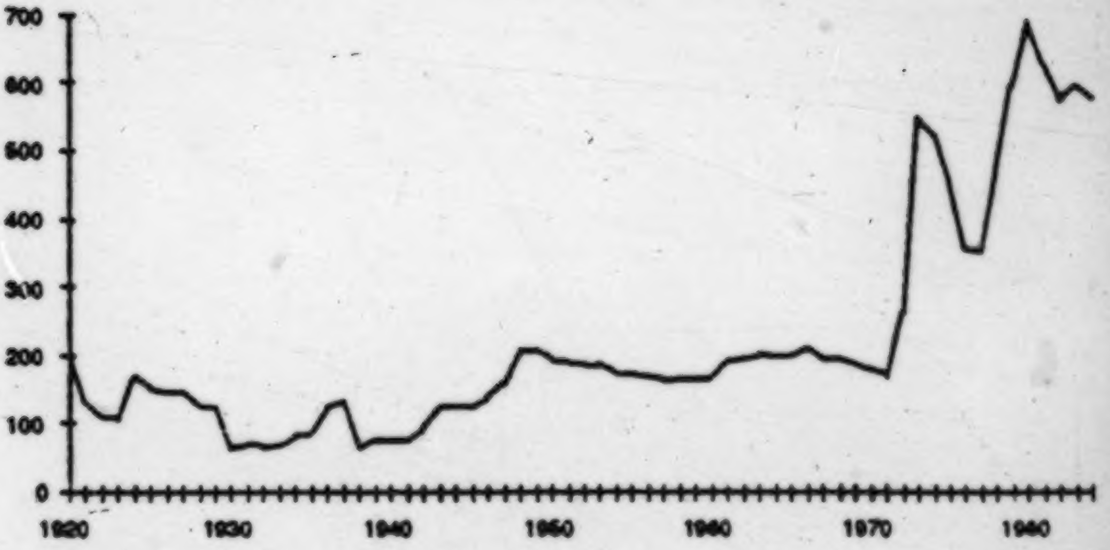

Figure 9. CANADIAN WHEAT PRICE: 1884-1984

(Source: Hollinshead, 1986)

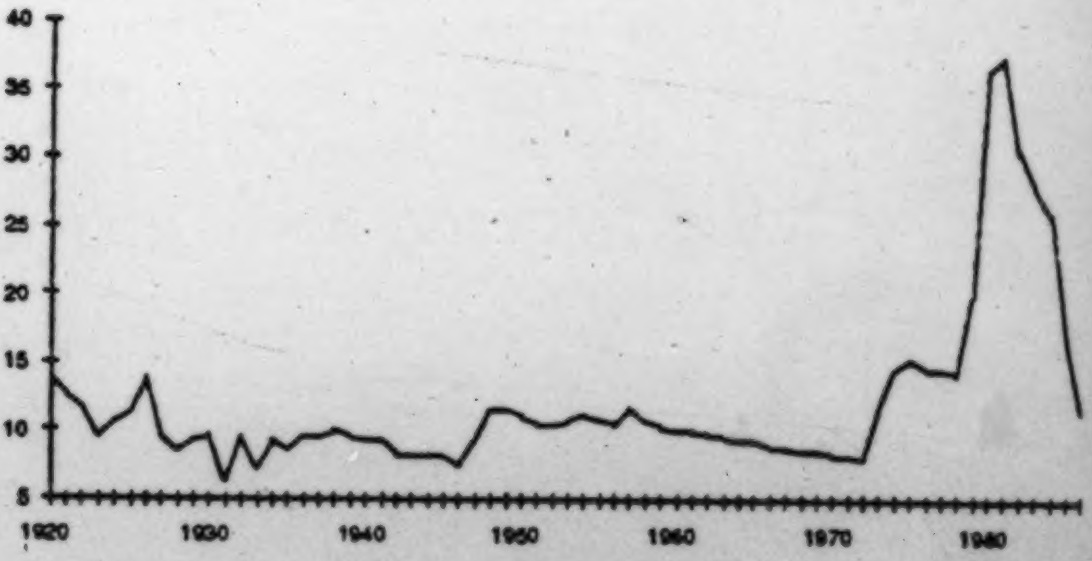

Figure 10. OIL - US WELLHEAD PRICE: 1920-1986

(Source: Hollinshead, 1986)

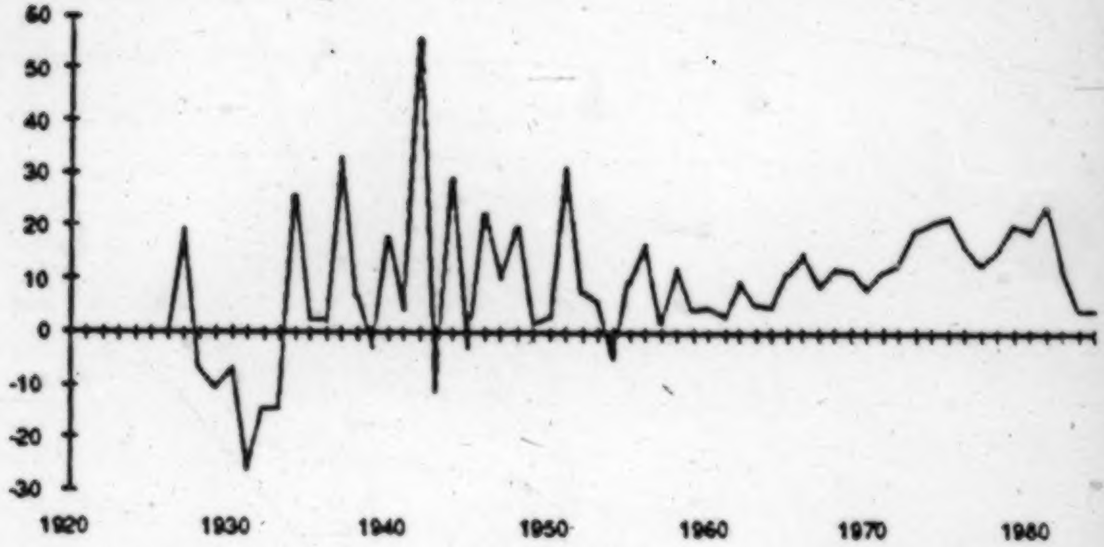

Figure 11. CHANGE IN TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME IN ALBERTA 1920-1984 (Source: Hollinshead, 1986).

Spared by the Arab Israli war of October 1973, the OPEC countries quadrupled the world price of oil within three months. The price of oil again doubled in 1979 to 1980. The Conservative Government, together with the major oil companies, took advantage of the OPEC action to press for world-level prices for Alberta oil and gas. After several Provincial-Federal confrontations, the Federal Liberal Government, which had controlled oil prices since September 1973, agreed to raise prices in stages to world levels. The Alberta Government, therefore, received a windfall from oil revenue. The Conservative Government then faced the question of how to deploy the vast accumulation without significantly expanding public ownership and risking antagonizing their corporate alies and on the other hand, not openly giving away funds to corporate interests which might antagonize most citizens. (Leadbeater, 1984, 49-50).

The Conservatives therefore, decided to create a fund which would receive 30% of all future non-renewable resource revenue. In 1976 they established the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund with one and one half (1½) billion dollars. The purpose of the fund was to invest in products that would yield a reasonable rate of return while helping to industrialize and diversify the Alberta economy. The fund, which shifted the Province from a debtor to a creditor position, also allowed the Province to reduce the power and influence that the financiers in central Canada had on Alberta (Richards and Pratt, 1979: 215-249). These points were highlighted by Premier Peter Lougheed during one of the speeches in the Alberta Legislature on October 13, 1976.

> "But how long can it last? In my view, not very long; perhaps a decade at the most, unless we're able to put in place a balanced economy for that inevitable day, Mister Speaker, when oil and gas no longer provide such a large number of jobs, when production begins to decline, and resource revenue falls of. But it will not be easy to do so. There are going to be some failures and set backs. It's not a place for timid people ... we can't rely on the Federal bureaucrat or the establishment in Toronto to do it for us. For our objective means a fundamental change in the economy of Canada, a shift in the decision-making west ward, and essentially to Alberta. Because of that, it will be vigorously opposed." (Province of Alberta, Hansard, October 13, 1976).

By 1979, the Heritage Fund had accumulated over four (4) billion dollars and by 1983 over thirteen (13) billion dollars (Leadbeater, 1984: 15).

Tensions increased between the Provincial Conservative Government and the Federal Liberal Government in both energy and social services areas (Splane, 1985). The major areas of conflict between these two

Governments were the Federal Liberal proposal for an intrenched charter of rights and freedoms within a patriated constitution, and the National Energy Program (NEP) which was announced in the Federal budget in October 1980, and had as its goal goal of energy self-sufficiency by 1990. This involved the "Canadianization" of the energy sector through at least 50% Canadian ownership by 1990. The Provincial Government objected to both the pricing regime proposed by the program, claiming that it underpriced Alberta's resources, and the division of rents, which substantially increased the Federal Government's share at the expense of the corporate and Provincial Government shares (Leadbeater, 1984).

Premier Lougheed revealed a four pronged attack against the Federal Government's proposal during a television broadcast on September 3, 1981. He proposed a Provincial Government retaliation by cutting back on Alberta oil output, stalling approvals on two major oil sands projects, launching a legal attack on the Federal natural gas export tax, and mobilizing public opinion regarding Provincial Government's position. By the end of that month, a five year settlement was reached in which the Federal Government eased its position on the gas export tax and agreed to higher oil and gas prices.

By 1982, however, it became evident that a general resession was taking hold and spreading to Alberta. Oil prices fell from a high of over thirty seven dollars ($37) per barrel in 1981 to approximately twelve dollars ($12) a barrel in 1986. This resulted in major cutbacks in both the private and public sector. As well as increases in private and corporate bankruptcies (see table 11 below).

ALBERTA BANKRUPTCIES

	TOTAL BANKRUPTCIES	CONSUMER BANKRUPTCIES	BUSINESS BANKRUPTCIES
1970	222	85	137
1971	315	174	141
1972	413	215	198
1973	854	669	185
1974	701	565	136
1975	771	633	138
1976	738	573	165
1977	896	717	179
1978	1,266	941	325
1979	1,419	1,037	382
1980	1,753	1,308	445
1981	2,060	1,441	619
1982	2,865	2,123	742
1983	3,449	2,411	1,038
1984	3,527	2,373	1,154
1985	3,475	2,318	1,157
1986	3,430	2,262	1,168

Table 11 : Alberta Bankruptcies: 1970-1986 (Source: Canada Consumer & Corporate Affairs)

The development of social programs also enjoyed a "boom" during the first decade of the Conservative Party's rule. The 1971 Progressive Conservative platform, included promises to review and revamp social programs. In fulfillment of this promise, a new Mental Health Act was passed and a new branch developed to focus on the de-institutionalization of the mentally handicapped. During this first term in office, the Conservatives repealed the Social Sterilization Act, dissolved the Eugenics Board, and developed community based services in Mental Health and Programs for the Handicapped. For example, as shown by table 11 below, the total budget for the Department of Social Services and Community Health jumped from $297,548,000 in the 1975-76 fiscal year to $1,261,919,000 in the 1985-86 fiscal year.

Year	1975-76	% Change	1976-77	% Change	1977-78	% Change	1978-79	% Change	1979-80	% Change	1980-81	% Change
Total SS&CH Budget * (000)	297,548		350,792	+17.9	393,808	+12.3	426,245	+8.2	473,851	+11.2	603,103	+27.3
Social Allowance* Budget* (000)	112,113		135,515	+20.9	157,572	+16.3	160,178	+1.7	166,492	+3.9	171,532	+3.0
Total Social Allowance Caseload	34,263		36,883	+7.6	37,270	+1.0	34,516	-7.4	32,580	-5.6	30,926	-5.1
Employables on Social Allowance	5,138		6,410	+24.8	6,118	-4.6	4,621	-24.5	4,033	-12.7	4,936	+22.4

* In actual dollars for that year (i:e., non standardized dollars).

Year	1981-82	% Change	1982-83	% Change	1983-84	% Change	1984-85	% Change	1985-86	% Change
Total SS&CH Budget (000)	802,019	+33.0	997,693	+24.4	1,069,666	+7.2	1,120,524	+4.8	1,261,919	+12.6
Social Allowance* Budget (000)	218,121	+27.2	347,804	+59.5	366,934	+5.5	390,613	+6.5	458,869	+17.5
Total Social Allowance Caseload	32,561	+5.3	43,261	+32.9	46,383	+7.2	49,440	+6.6	56,580	+14.4
Employables on Social Allowance	5,727	+16.0	10,949	+91.2	12,166	+11.1	13,906	+14.3	19,862	+42.8

*Social Allowance Budget Includes:
- Program Support
- Regional Services Delivery
- Social Allowance for the Aged
- Social Allowance - Single Parent Families
- Social Allowance - Physically Handicapped
- Social Allowance - Mentally Handicapped
- Social Allowance - Employables
- Social Allowance - Special Groups

Table 12 : Social Services Budget and Social Allowance Case Loads: 1975-1986
(Sources: Alberta Social Services & Community Health Annual Reports)

The preceding tables show that during the late 70's the Provincial economy was booming. Prices for wheat and oil were up and the total personal income for individuals remained on the positive side. During this period, the Social Services and Community Health budget also increased, even though there was a decrease in the total number receiving social allowance - especially the 'employables'. The money during this period, was channeled into programs for the handicapped, aged, and those requiring other types of social programming. The 22.4% increase in the employables receiving social allowance in 1981, indicates the start of the recession. In 1982/83, those employables receiving assistance rose by 91.2%. The social allowance budget reflects this rise a 59.5% increase in dollars. The sizeable rise in the social allowance case load from 1983 to 1986, was not accompanied by a similar proportional rise in the total departmental budget. The money for social allowance, therefore, had to come from other programs within the department.

The strategic re-organization of the social services bureaucracy commenced in 1980. This reorganization was partially based on the findings and conclusions reached from a thirteen day tour that Premier Lougheed and sixty others took across Europe. The tour was undertaken to encourage trade, observe and study European innovations, to invite the participation of European investment capital and technology, and to create a greater awareness of services available in Alberta (Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, 1976). The report from this trip to Europe recommended that "if consolidation, reorganization and decentralization of planning and management of these (social) services are to become Government policies, there must be a developmental process with three major components clearly developed together:

1. Preparation of regional key executive personnel for the complex task of global management and priority setting at a regional level;
2. Central reorganization to produce back-up services which must be centralized. These were generally involved:
    a. Planning and overall policy setting;
    b. program standard setting and monitoring of personal programs and services;
    c. service functions including budget allocations, management of capital expenditures and borrowing, including reviewing and authorizing hospital and health centre building, providing plans for facilities providing data processing;
    d. information collection, collation, distribution and dissemination functions;
3. Enabling mechanisms for coordinated policy making and planning on a rational information base without the stranglehold of the advisory committee currently impeding function in Britain" (Ibid.: 17).

In 1980, the Department of Social Services and Community Health reorganized on a geographic basis, dividing the Province into six regions and appointing a Regional Director over all of the services delivered by the Department in those regions. This was a drastic change from the previous functionally-based organizational structure in which programs were conceived, policies and procedures developed, and services delivered within each program area (e.g. Mental Health, Services for the Handicapped, Income Security, etc.).

These new social programs appeared to reflect more traditional conservative philosophies. For example, a 'Work for Welfare' program was piloted in Southern Alberta. It was met with resistance however, by those in other parts of the Province who felt it was a violation of both the Canada Assistance Plan - if not the Charter of Human Rights (Splane, 1985).

From 1983 on, the Province continued with its endeavor to reduce costs in the public sector. This resulted in increasing pressure in the Department of Social Services and Community Health, to reduce the cost of programs - particularly through a reduction in bureaucratic manpower and through privatization (i.e., transfer of programs to the non-profit, voluntary sector). Finally, on November 17, 1986, the Premier and Provincial Treasurer announced an "expenditure freeze" in an effort to reduce the expected Provincial budgetary deficit of three (3) billion dollars. The Premier announced that the Government had now to "follow private sector initiative to increase efficiency". His plan was designed to "affect areas that will not cause hardship to the people of Alberta". (Alberta Government, News Release, November 17, 1986).

The Development of C.L.S.

It was in the context of this 'boom and bust' cycle that Community Living Services (C.L.S. - a pseudonym) developed. Initially C.L.S. was conceived as a means to de-institutionalize, treat and develop severly mentally and physically handicapped children in the community - which was in line the the Conservative platform promises.

In September of 1973 a regional office of the Division of Services for the Handicapped for one of the metropolitan areas in the province commenced planning with the local parents and agency representatives for the development of a service system with a strong developmental and family support orientation. This was in accordance with the principle of "normalization" being advocated at the time by Wolfensberger (1972). The early planning was guided by conviction that the handicapped had the right, and therefore should have the opportunity, to live as normal a life in as normal a setting as possible. The parents claimed that their children could show extraordinary developmental gains if given the opportunity and support required. They also emphasized their own needs for support in raising their handicapped children and were unanimous in expressing a wish for a place in their own community for their children as they reached adulthood or otherwise moved from the family. These parents had originally reluctantly sought and supported institutional placement for their handicapped children outside their community, since service in their city consisted only of a ninety two bed institution established in 1972.

In 1976, the Cabinet of the Alberta Government approved the resulting plan for the development of five developmental resource centres, five attached residences, and ten associated group homes. The Cabinet Ministers felt that these resources would allow for the retention of the dependent handicapped within their communities, neighborhoods, and families. The plan called for extensive use of existing residental, educational, recreational, medical, and other generic community resources, facilities, and services. It operated within guidelines which stressed that the service system was to be adaptable, reputable, and economical, and the resources developed integrable within the neighborhoods of existing communities.

The residences were to be phased in over a three year period. This was to allow for the training and recruitment of qualified manpower (community colleges in Alberta had been requested to develop a two-year program for the training of the Rehabilitation Practitioners that would be required in the group homes). It was also designed to allow time for the development of local public and parental awareness and support, which was required to ensure the integration of the resources into existing residential areas, as well as for the development of coordinated linkages between the program and the various generic community resources required. Finally, the phasing-in of the program was designed to enable the existing agencies which served the mentally handicapped in the city to ready their resources to meet the influx of the one hundred new residents.

In 1977, the Alberta Court Queen's Bench ruled that the public school system was indeed responsible for meeting the educational needs of all children - including the dependant handicapped. This allowed the Community Living Services (C.L.S) proposal to eliminate the planned separate resource centres for the residences who were of school age.

C.L.S. commenced services as an organization in 1977. Under this program, severely profoundly handicapped children (5-18 years of age) moved into group homes in the community and attended special school programs at designated city public schools. The target population (residents) for this program consisted of physically handicapped children (under the age of 18) whose I.Q. had been assessed at 35 or less, and/or who were functioning at Level 3 or 4 on the Levels of Handicapped (primary retardation) Grid (1975). These children also had to have attained health stability (i.e., did not require 24 hour care), had to be able to withstand prolonged activity and had to be able to be seated relatively upright to be transported in a vehicle.

As the program developed, numerous formal and informal evaluations were undertaken. These program evaluations showed that the program had generally been quite successful in meeting its objective of maintaining these persons in a community setting. The residents had shown significant improvement in their skill levels. Integration into the community had been achieved through coordination of community based services such as local schools, specialized transportation, and health, recreational, and social service programs. Those citizens residing in the neighborhood which the group homes were located appeared to have accepted the group homes into their midst. Most of the parents themselves had also become involved to a great degree in the planning and implementation of the specific programs for their children. Since most of the original residents had remained in the program, the organization adapted to the parents' and line staffs' wishes for the residents to remain in the program by developing age appropriate services and resources.

At the end of 1986, C.L.S. consisted of fourteen group homes - seven for children and seven for adults (over 18 years of age). One of the adult group homes had become a special behavioral support home for more advanced clients. The strategic level of the organization consisted of the executive director, two program unit directors (one for the seven adult group homes and one for the seven children group homes), and a business manager. At the managerial level, the organization was comprised of the fourteen group home supervisors who were responsible for the running of the group homes. Both those in the strategic and managerial levels of the organization had offices in a central headquarter which was located in the downtown section of the city. The operational level of the organization consisted of the Rehabilitation Practitioners, Therapy Assistants, Institutional Aids, and Houseparents which worked directly with the clients in the homes. The seven Adult Services homes included eleven staff per home while the Children's Services homes included ten. The difference was based on the rationale that the adult clients were much heavier than the children and therefore required an extra person to help with the lifting.

In total, C.L.S. had ninety-seven client spaces including ninety-four permanent beds and three relief beds (for dependent handicapped children who were living at home with their families). They had a total of one hundred seventy-seven full time positions and drew from a pool of approximately one hundred for part time relief coverage (e.g. staff illness, holidays, etc.).

A unique feature of this particular human service organization was the parental involvement. For example, in 1984, the Department of Social Services and Community Health discussed with the parents the alternative of privatizing the organization (which was in line with the general directions of the provincial government). This resulted in the parents demanding a meeting with the Minister. At this meeting, the parents related to the Minister why this program should remain in the public sector. The parents stated that they did not believe that the private non-profit sector would retain the quality of care their children were now receiving. They therefore wanted C.L.S. to remain within the government department. Their reasons included:

- The public sector had higher service standards than did the private sector;
- the public sector paid higher salaries to staff (and therefore could attract better quality staff);
- the funding source for the program was more stable as part of government than it would be of private agency receiving grants;
- the public sector was more susceptible to pressure from the parents as a group than they believed a private board would be (therefore

parents felt that they could be more influential regarding what happened to their children if C.L.S. remained in government);

- C.L.S. had always encouraged meaningful involvement of the parents in the planning process as well as the delivery of the program - the parents were concerned that this might change if the organization were privatized;
- the public sector was more accountable for its action than was the private sector.

Almost immediately after the parents had met with the Minister and expressed their concerns, the plans for privatizing C.L.S. were shelved. As a result of organizing around this issue, the parents developed their own organization - the purpose of which was to continue as a group to advocate for C.L.S. directly to the political decision-makers. The organizational response to the resolution of the 'privatization' issue as expressed by the parents was to establish a Parent Advisory Committee consisting of a parent representative from each of the fourteen group homes. The purpose of the Parent Advisory Committee was to advise the strategic level managers of parental concerns regarding the organization and services. However, this committee met infrequently (since there were apparently no burning issues) and the meetings were quite congenial. The executive director chaired the meetings and drafted and distributed minutes.

PART III: THE CASE STUDY: COMMUNITY LIVING SERVICES FOR THE SEVERLY MULTIPLY HANDICAPPED

CHAPTER 6

THE PROGRAM AND FISCAL CRISIS: A PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF EVENTS

By the summer of 1986 it appeared that C.L.S. had apparently achieved its original objective of demonstrating that these profoundly mentally and physically handicapped individuals could be treated and developed in their own communities where their parents and families could continue to be involved with them. The parents appeared comfortable with the program and did not wish the organization to change. Some of the trained staff (i.e., the Rehabilitation Practitioners) felt that a number of the residents had developed to their potential and were ready for less restrictive environments such as four rather than seven person group homes. However, almost no one had graduated from C.L.S. since the parents of these residents were not anxious for their children to move to a new situation nor were there any other community resources available that could accommodate this population.

In the fall of 1986, the Provincial Treasurer requested a reduction in the current year's budgetary allocations. Every department of Government was instructed to return a percentage of their current budget. The Deputy Minister of Social Services requested all branches of the department to develop scenarios outlining how they would reduce their current budget by five and ten percent.

Chronology of Events

Documents

Following is a chronology of the significant events which occurred in C.L.S. relating to the fiscal reduction. This chronology is based on an analysis of the correspondence, minutes and documents which were received and distributed by the strategic level managers of C.L.S. and therefore provide an objective listing of actual events.

November 14/86 - the director of the region notified his regional manager that he had made a commitment to his assistant deputy minister that C.L.S. would be within the manpower budget allocation for this fiscal year (in previous years they had run deficit in this area).

November 17/86 - a Government "expenditure freeze" was announced by the Premier and Provincial Treasurer in an effort to reduce the expected Provincial budgetary deficit of three billion dollars. The freeze included:

- A freeze on all civil service hirings;
- a 25% reduction on the 'supplies and services' component of the budget;
- a freeze on all discretionary grants that were not already committed as of this date;
- a freeze on all capital projects or asset acquisitions not yet purchased.

The Premier announced that the Government must now "follow private sector initiative to increase efficiency". His plan was designed to "affect areas that will not cause hardship to the people of Alberta".

November 17/86 - the Regional Director notified all of his Regional Managers of his hiring freeze on all vacant positions, the discontinuance of staff development activities, the imposition of "rigorous restraint" in all areas (particularly non-client related expenditure areas), discontinuance of all regional and out of province travel that was not directly client-related, and the freezing of all fixed asset purchases.

November 25/86 - the Assistant Deputy Minister (A.D.M.) of finance for the Department, issued specific fiscal targets for each area of the Department which would meet the Treasury target of a 15% overall budget reduction.

November 26/86 - a request was issued from the Regional Manager to the regional finance officer to ask him to try to obtain an exemption from the hiring freeze for the direct care positions in the twenty-four hour facilities run by the region (including C.L.S.).

December 3/86 - memo issued from Deputy Minister to all of the executive committee members regarding his appreciation "that most areas of the Department are capable of achieving 1986/87 expenditure reductions..." and asking them to communicate the details of their reduction to

Financial Operations Budgets not later than December 5 in order that these monies could be removed from this years operating budget.

December 4/86 - meeting between the C.L.S. strategic managers and the group home supervisors to determine alternative scenarios for 5% and 10% cuts. The result of this meeting was a paper outlining four different scenarios by which the requested cuts could be realized.

December 11/86 - the Regional Manager notifies the director of C.L.S. that he must attempt to balance his manpower expenditures in addition to previously identified surpluses in the 'supplies and services' and 'contract' components of his budget. The regional manager requested an indication by group home or unit of how the C.L.S. director was going to achieve this.

December 16/86 - C.L.S. director notifies the program directors that they must reduce their unit budgets by thirty thousand dollars ($30,000.00) each.

December 17/86 - group home supervisors requested to save five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) per home by working fifty shifts themselves from January 1st to March 31st (a savings of one hundred dollars per shift per home).

December 18/86 - Director notifies the program director and the business manager that sixty six thousand dollars ($66,000.00) in supplies and services was removed from agency budget.

December 19/86 - 'Friends of C.L.S.' meet by themselves to update themselves regarding C.L.S.'s plans for cost reductions.

December 19/86 - memo from C.L.S. Director to the regional finance officer confirming that manpower control group deficit could be offset by savings in the supplies and service control group to achieve a balanced budget.

December 22/86 - memo from the Director to program directors outlining the following changes in the organizational processes:

- All stock requests are to be pre-authorized through the Director.
- Efforts are to be made to minimize photocopying (limit of fifteen thousand dollars per month).
- Limited use established regarding long distance calls from the group homes.
- Request to minimize all travel and taxi vouchers.
- All Direct Purchase Orders (e.g. for food) will be centrally monitored and controlled.
- One of the vans used by the group home is to be returned to Central Vehicle Services.

January 7/87 - formal relinquishment of the following positions: two RP1's, one houseparent, and one therapy assistant totalling $97,117.00 in annual salaries. The positions were given up but the funds reallocated to vacancy discounts.

January 9/87 - C.L.S. Director met with the Parent Advisory Committee to update them on the changes.

January 14/87 - reorganization plan drafted by C.L.S. Director.

January 20/87 - first meeting of the "Restrictive Procedures Committee'.

January 23/87 - 'Friends of C.L.S.' write a letter to the Minister expressing their concern that the budgetary cut backs do not result in C.L.S. having to resort to custodial care as oppose to "its developmental and rehabilitation approach". Carbon copies were sent to the Leader of the Opposition, the Regional Director, and the C.L.S. Director.

February 5/87 - meeting between the Regional Manager and the C.L.S. strategic manager and the house parents to present the houseparents with an information update regarding their positions (which were being reduced from full time to half time).

February 11/87 - the Regional Director wrote a response to the parents stating that the management responsibility for the program rests with the departmental officials but that the region is "committed to meaningful involvement of parents/guardians in decisions which effect their children. ... We will continue to provide to parents detailed information on all program changes as decisions are finalized". (A carbon copy was sent to the Minister).

February 11/87 - the C.L.S. Director sent a letter updating all parents on the budget cut backs, the January 9th Parent Advisory Committee meeting, the Friends of C.L.S. letter to the Minister, and the five year plan. He invited the parents to call him directly regarding their "questions, concerns, suggestions and participation".

February 19/87 - meeting between the regional manager, and the group home supervisors and strategic managers to update them regarding the budget cuts and the house parent cutbacks.

February 25/87 - C.L.S. Director writes regional manager with the next fiscal year budget proposal reductions. He noted that C.L.S. "will have reduced its fiscal budget by approximately seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($750,000.00) in two years with a decrease in service of only three spaces.".

February 26/87 - meeting between the regional manager and the C.L.S. strategic managers the exchange updated information.

February 26/87 - the C.L.S. Director sent out a memo to the other members of the management team, and all the group home supervisors requesting them to book off a half day on March 6, 12, 19, and 26 for C.L.S. planning meetings.

February 27/87 - an afternoon meeting between the regional director, the regional manager, and the R.D.H. strategic managers and those parents who could attend to update the parents on the actual budget cuts and staff cuts. At this meeting the parents were told that the final budgetary cuts were only 1.5% opposed to the 3% average for the region.

February 27/87 - the Minister sent a letter to the 'Friend's of C.L.S.' which replied to their concerns paragraph by paragraph. The Minister stated that she and the management of C.L.S. felt "a responsibility to develop cost efficient models so that more dependent handicapped individuals may be served....Houseparents who only cook/clean and supervisors who only manage is not cost efficient for a resident population requiring two - three man lifts and constant supervision....If each home is to approximate a family type home, everyone should be a participant in the home's routine activities, e.g., cleaning....More extensive use of volunteers and willing/able parents...is seen as a way to enhance the social/recreational aspects of the program." She also mentioned that "one aspect of down-sizing the administration unit is to reduce the current heavy administrative role of the supervisors in favor of on-site participation in the programs".

Her final paragraph ended as follows:

> "Attempts have been made to share planning information and to seek input and suggestions (e.g., general parent meetings, Parent Advisory Group, direct communication to parents). Some parents seem to feel that they should be part of the agency/regional management. Parents have never been left out of the planning for their own children, and it is a fundamental policy of the organization that no decision regarding the placement or treatment of their child will be made without their consent. However, the ability of the Regional and the [C.L.S.] management to make decisions about the program/organization as a whole would be impossible if consent of all parents was required on every organizational issue. We can only hope to build the trust necessary by demonstrating success in our current and future decision-making. Thank you for making your concerns known to me."

March 3/87 - second meeting of the Restrictive Procedures Review Committee to review the changes in the client's program that were suggested at the first meeting (Jan. 20).

March 6/87 - first management - group home supervisor planning meeting called by the Director. (After this meeting the Director canceled the planning meetings scheduled for the 12, 19, and 26 of March since he felt that he understood the issues raised by the group home supervisors.)

March 12/87 - memo sent from the C.L.S. Director to the night staff in the group homes stating that their one hour overlap will be eliminated thus reducing their shift to a seven and three quarter hour shift with a half hour paid meal break (total of eight and one quarter hours).

March 12/87 - Children's Services Program Director and a group home supervisor attend the Interagency Committee on Recreation for Disabled Individuals to exchange information on recreation programs for the disabled (particularly for the summer).

March 25/87 - C.L.S. Director sends out the annual agency Job Satisfaction survey to all staff.

March 25/87 - C.L.S. Director sends out memo to all group home supervisors advising them of a budget meeting on April 7 and a meeting to discuss the organization values and mission on a April 14.

March 30/87 - memo sent from the business manager to the group home supervisors outlining changes in administrative procedures and policies in stock room and office supplies, finance, and personnel procedures.

April 1/87 - hiring freeze lifted by Government.

April 1/87 - Departmental newspaper featured an interview with the Minister entitled "Tough questions asked? Tough decisions taken" in which the Minister acknowledged her responsibilities to deliver Social Services to those in need as well as to cut costs during these times of restraint. She stated she had to priorize. "I made the judgement. Now the front line troops have to put that judgement into effect" (Alberta Social Services, April, 1987, 1).

April 1/87 - Priority Placement procedure commenced. Priority given to persons in committed positions, affected employees (those who were redeployed to preclude abolishment), abolishees (those who are in departmental or Government positions that were abolished due to the fiscal cut backs), and those in temporary salary or wage positions that were released as a result of the downsizing initiative. The procedure meant that employees in these categories were to be considered first before the agency could advertise to fill vacant positions.

April 7/87 - meeting between the CLS director, business manager and supervisors to give the group home supervisors their budgets for the new fiscal year.

April 14/87 - values and mission statement meeting with line staff and parent representatives, as well as the group home supervisors and strategic managers. Input from all the group homes had been requested April 3 and was incorporated into the material distributed for this meeting. The half-day meeting was organized and run by the Children Services Program consultant who later summarized this information for the strategic managers to rise to formulate the new mission statement.

April 24/87 - the updated house parent job descriptions (now half time) were sent by the director to the regional personnel officer.

April 27/87 - the business manager's Year-To-Date Expenditure Report distributed to management committee. It reveals an initial surplus of forty-four thousand ninety-two dollars ($44,092.00) for the 1986/87 fiscal year.

May 1/87 - The News features an article entitled "Ozerkevich Resigns". The paper featured articles on both the minister and an interview with Mr. Ozerkevich (the Deputy Minister) stating that Mr. Ozerkevich will be resigning effective June 30 to take up a partnership with Price Waterhouse (a private consulting firm).

May 4/87 - meeting of the regional facility directors (including C.L.S.) called by the regional manager to discuss the high level of absenteeism in these organizations due to reported illnesses and injuries.

May 14/87 - request sent by regional manager to facility directors to develop worksite goals and objectives for 1987/88 fiscal year. They were requested to incorporate the key performance areas of: a) managing resources to uphold commitment to quality services within fiscal limits; b) supporting and enhancing employee effectiveness; c) promoting effective relationships with external agencies - stakeholders; and d) preventive strategies as a viable element in programs.

May 19/87 - meeting between the C.L.S. strategic managers and a representative of the Government Occupational Health and Safety Branch and the regional office representative to conduct an audit of the degree to which C.L.S. group homes were meeting the occupational health and safety standards.

May 20/87 - memo to management committee signed by the program directors, the program consultant, and supervisors from Children and Adult services requesting the director to change his vacated secretarial position (retirement) to a receptionist for the agency (i.e., to answer phones as well as doing the clerical duties for the director).

May 25/87 - meeting of the region's 'Dependent Handicapped Services Project Planning Team' to start exploring ways of dealing with the dependent handicapped in the community.

May 28/87 - meeting between the regional personnel representatives and the group home supervisor to discuss the personnel implications of each of the new shift schedules.

May 29/87 - memo to the C.L.S. director from the Children Services Program director raising serious concerns regarding how decisions were being made at the management meetings.

June 2/87 - the strategic managers meet to discuss the five year plan as a group for the first time.

June 3/87 - management committee meeting on mission formulation.

June 5/87 - meeting between the headquarter secretaries and the strategic managers regarding telephone answering duties. (Now that the group home supervisors were no longer in their headquarter offices very often since they had to spend most of their time in the group homes. The secretaries were having to take more messages. The reduction in clerical personnel had resulted in less people being available to answer the phones resulting in an increase in the disruption in work for the secretaries.)

June 8/87 - the final Year-To-Date Expenditure Report for the 1986/87 fiscal year issued by the business manager. It showed a final surplus of seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-seven dollars ($17,227.00) (surpassing the goal of achieving a eighty five thousand dollar ($85,000.00) deficit).

June 11/87 - C.L.S. director sends a memo to the regional manager updating the proposed 1987/88 budget. These updates resulted in overall reduction of 9.84% of the original 1986/87 budget.

June 15/87 - Children's Services Program director writes the Director to relay concerns of her wage staff who are now experiencing up to sixteen days delay for their paychecks under the new payroll system.

June 19/87 - Children's Services Program director sends a memo to all managers and administration notifying them of a meeting at City Hall regarding the planned reduction of the City's Disabled Adults Transportation System.

June 25/87 - the regional manager issues a memo to its facility directors (including C.L.S.) stating that the recently held two-day strategic planning workshop did not achieve the results he had anticipated but that an increase in an understanding of a new vision for his program area did occur. He invited his directors to consider a "very significant restructuring" of his program area to reflect these directions.

June 25/87 - the regional manager sent out a revised 1987 Mission/Goals/Objectives to all of his agency directors (including C.L.S. director).

June 30/87 - A follow-up meeting to the mission and goals meeting which was to focus of agency goals and objectives was cancelled due to the imminence of the summer holidays.

In short, this outline of the chronology of events demonstrates that C.L.S. as an organization was responding to two major sources of external pressures - the fiscal pressures created by the political decision to reduce the Government's projected deficit by cutting back on the fiscal allocations for the last quarter (how this was to be achieved was up to the bureaucracy); and the pressures generated by the resulting uncertainty experienced by the parents who did not wish any changes in the quality or the security of the services to their children.

The Technical System

The economic pressures were of two types: nondiscretionary and discretionary. Nondiscretionary cuts were made in areas such as out of province and within province travel. Discretionary cuts took the form of percentage reduction goals that were determined by those in the larger bureaucracy of which C.L.S. was a subsystem. The strategic managers of C.L.S. therefore, had no authority to change these objectives but could only influence informally and through the reporting of potential consequences of the reductions goal for their particular agency. The director endeavored to involve the managers and to some degree, the operational level staff as best he could to develop alternative scenarios that would result in C.L.S. meeting its reduction goal. However, the final scenario was chosen by the regional manager in consultation with the C.L.S. director. Therefore the authority to choose and implement 'the solution' lay outside the organization. The uncertainty that this generated in the political system (particularly in the organization structure and human resource components) was expressed by both staff and parents.

The parents influenced the organization in two ways: directly with the strategic managers (in particular, the director) by contacting him individually and collectively through the Parent Advisory Committee; and indirectly, by writing the Minister - the politician that was perceived as being able to modify the reduction in fiscal resources. Therefore, though the fiscal reduction triggered these changes, there were also political forces at play. The fiscal forces were represented through the bureaucracy which pressed for change. The parents utilized political forces to try and counteract the force for change by supporting the status quo.

The strategic level managers utilized two strategies: a short term solution which required the managerial level personnel to work at the operational level for a minimum of fifty shifts from January 1st to March 31st; and a long term solution which resulted in all of the full time houseparents being reduced to half time, the elimination of the extra Adult home staff person, the hastening of the planned closure of one of the group homes, and the reduction of some of the administrative support staff.

The organizational processes also underwent a short and long term change. In the short term, all of the daily and monthly expenditures for each of the fourteen group homes were centrally monitored and controlled. The authority to make discretionary expenditures was removed from the managers (group home supervisors) and the expenditure authority was removed from the two program directors (strategic managers) by the C.L.S. director. Instead of quarterly financial statements, the business manager issued monthly statements. After March 31st, the expenditure authority resorted back to the former levels. However, new administrative procedures were developed to try and reduce the administrative burden of the managers to enable them to continue their focus on direct services to clients. The regular monthly monitoring of the budget by the business manager, however, remained in force. Thus the information processing systems of the organization was adapted in order to more readily incorporate both client and fiscal information.

New staff could more readily be hired after the wage freeze was lifted at the beginning of April. Preference however had to be given to other Government and departmental employees who had lost their positions during the cutbacks. Because of this externally imposed regulation the organization, at least temporarily, was restricted in terms of the pool of individuals from which they could draw their staff. Therefore, those hired during this period may not of been the best persons available in the community for the positions.

The Political System

Only after all of the short term and most of the long term adjustments had been made, did the C.L.S. director have one of the program consultants design and conduct a half day meeting of staff and parent representatives to provide input into the formulation of a new mission statement. This was the first time that parents and staff were invited to provide input into the formulation of the mission statement before it was developed and ratified by the strategic managers.

Incongruencies within the political system of the organization were highlighted by the Children's Services Program clients at a management meeting near the end of May. CPD followed up these comments with a memo to the C.L.S. director a few days later (May 29). In the memo she stated the following:

> "changes that happen are imposed from above or below as we are not a group that leads or takes action. We do not have control over our own destiny. Fiscal restraint and the ensuing reorganization of the agency has seriously impacted [the Adult Services Program director's] and my role as Expenditure Officer. As well our role in decision making has been greatly affected. There are decisions being made that [the Adult Services Program director] and I do not have any involvement in."

After citing fifteen specific examples she concluded:

> "...we need to take a good look at our management team and start by defining the purpose of the group, the players and concluded their roles. The behaviors of the people i.e., (eye rolling, defensiveness and lack of eye contact) tell me that as a team we need to improve our abilities to communicate effectively with each other so that we can develop a sense of unity in representing the organization. The first step in changing ones behavior is recognizing that a problem exists. I think its time that we all talk about this. We are not perceived in the agency as a Management Group that leads and takes action".

This memo highlighted the fact that the political system within the organization appeared to be out of alignment with at least the technical if not both the technical and cultural systems. These concerns were never addressed directly at a management meeting (other than the meeting they were initially brought up - May 26, 1986). The director did however set up a management meeting on June 2nd to discuss the five year plan as a group for the first time. The regular management meeting on

June 3rd was utilized to formulate a formal mission statement for the organization based on the input from the April 14th meeting.

The effect of the pressure applied by the parents to retain the Service Delivery status quo, is unclear from the correspondence. In fact, the responses from both the regional director and the Minister reinforce the bureaucratic and managerial authority and responsibility to plan and manage the organization. They implied that the parents' legitimate function was merely to oversee and direct their own individual child's program and not agency programs. It was during this time period however, that the formal terms of reference for the Parent Advisory Committee were reviewed and modified. For example, a minimum of four meetings per year was established and the executive director who previously chaired and recorded minutes for the committee, was replaced with two parents, one as chairman and the other as vice-chairman.

The Cultural System

Based upon an analysis of the content of these documents, there appeared to be three sets of values underlying the perceptions, requests, and actions of the groups involved. The correspondence which emanated from the bureaucracy to the C.L.S. director and the director's response to this correspondence was fiscally oriented. The content of these correspondence appeared to be based on a value orientation that the organization must become as effective and efficient as possible. This is based on the assumption that the organization could find ways of serving the same number of clients with reduced resources. This was achieved in three ways: 1) refocusing onto the organization's original target group (i.e., the dependent handicapped) and giving higher priority to a plan to phase out one of the group homes which specialized in dealing with clients with severe behavioral problems; and 2) cutting back on what were deemed to be nondirect care personnel (i.e., administrative support staff and houseparents - the houseparents' function consisted mainly of the home maintenance duties of cooking, and grocery shopping), and 3) reducing the staffing level of the adult homes by one to bring them in line with the children's homes, which could be described as 'means' values.

The correspondence emanating from those at the operational and managerial levels of the organization, as well as from the two program directors, appeared to be client-oriented. These correspondences reflected the value that these clients were worthy of being developed to the maximum of their potential. They appeared to be based on the assumption that if a client needed a particular resource to facilitate the maximization of his potential, that he or she should receive that resource; that the client deserved the best quality of developmentally-oriented care that was currently available; and that the 'professional' staff in the group home were the best ones to determine what the client needed and, in conjunction with the parents, were the best ones to determine what services should be provided (i.e., how resources should be allocated for that particular client). The staff, therefore, operated from a professionally-oriented value base.

Though the correspondence from the parents was limited to one letter to the Minister from those parents active in "Friend's of C.L.S.", the parents' strong support for the status quo as it concerned the actual services to their children in the group homes appeared to be based on values that were 'security' and 'caring' oriented. "Our relief and happiness in finding a really good placement for a child we no longer had the resources to care for at home has been tempered by the loss of our piece of mind and worry about the future".

These parents appeared to have resolved their feelings of guilt and concern for not being able to look after their children at home through the assurance that ~~their~~ children were being well cared for and being offered the opportunity to develop the maximum of their potential. This appeared to based on the assumption that the societal cultural need being met by the organization remained as real and as important as it ever was. "We accept the fact that some budget cuts seem to be inevitable, but we are concerned that, in cost cutting efforts, the Department is prepared to accept custodial rather than rehabilitative care, thus diminishing the quality of care in moving away from the original concept of [C.L.S.]'s mandate." Their requests to be involved in the planning of services for their individual child and to enter into "a planning partnership" with C.L.S., appear to based on these parental values.

In summary, the analysis of the documents appear to provide a valid record from which a chronological listing of events can be extracted. The organizational, group and individual dynamics which resulted or contributed to these events, however, are unstated and therefore must largely be surmised, as must the individual motivations and values which drove and justified the roles and responses of the individuals involved. How these events occurred, the dynamics of the negotiating processes which resulted in these events can more clearly be induced from the participant-observation notes taken while the researcher attended the formal and informal meetings which occurred during the study period.

Regular and Special Meetings

During the time period of the study (January 1986 to June 1987) the researcher attended all regular and special meetings held at the headquarters of C.L.S. The regular meetings consisted of the management team meetings (strategic level managers), the Adult and Children Services Unit meetings (managerial level) and group home staff meetings (operational level). The special meetings included those meetings called to discuss special issues with representatives of some or all of the organizational levels, and those meetings with parent representatives and the Parent Advisory Committee. A complete chronological listing of these meetings is included in Appendix B. The results obtained from these meetings were derived from an analysis of the agendas, formal minutes, and the researcher's process recordings and participant-observation and field notes.

The major issues raised in the meetings throughout the study period paralleled quite closely those in the correspondence. In these meetings individuals either reacted to directives sent to them from those above them in the organization or from those in the organization environment, or discussed options and clarified issues that resulted in them initiating correspondence to others regarding their concerns. Also, reactions, discussions, and actions occurred around issues received by the participants from more informal sources (e.g. rumors, interpretations of perceived events, etc).

The meetings which occurred in C.L.S. can be categorized into seven areas: Management meetings (strategic level), childrens service unit meetings (managerial level), adult service unit meetings (managerial level), group home meetings (operational level), special meetings (all levels), Parent Advisory Committee meetings (environmental - strategic level interface), and meetings with the regional director and regional manager (bureaucratic environment-strategic/managerial level). The results of the processes within these meetings during the research period are summarized below.

Management Committee

The management committee was comprised of the Executive Director (ED), the Children's Services Program Director (CPD), the Adult Services Unit Program Director (APD), and the Business Manager (BM). The executive director (ED) chaired the meeting and drafted the agenda. The agenda was usually drafted the morning of the meeting and supplemented at the beginning of the meeting if others had issues to discuss. The meetings were quite informal. Minutes were kept by the director's secretary until she retired (two months into the study). Then minutes were taken by the director or anyone else who volunteered. Since the minutes were quite sketchy, both APD and CPD took their own notes as well.

The information discussed during this weekly management meeting (Tuesdays) was distributed to the managerial level via the weekly unit meetings (Children's Service Unit meeting - Wednesdays, and Adult Service Unit meetings - Fridays). The information shared at these unit meetings was then distributed to the fourteen group homes via the group home supervisors at their own group home staff meetings (usually bi-weekly). Concerns generated at the operational level usually went through the reverse process but only advanced to the next level up the organization if they could not be resolved or did not fall within the scope of the authority for the person at that level.

Generally, administratively oriented information and requests followed the protocol generated by the prescribed network. On the whole, this communication was formal and took the form of a memo or letter. Those located hierarchically closer to the Executive Director supplemented this information with more informal forms of communication such as telephone calls, meetings and dropping by his office to discuss issues with him.

The client oriented communication was on the whole much less formal. Operational level staff freely contacted their colleagues, the parents of their client, and the Program Consultant and Specialist in their unit to discuss particular concerns or client related issues. The frequency of the communication between the group home staff and the unit program director depended in large part on the managerial style of the group home supervisor as well as the style of the program director. The major mode of communication was through informal gatherings (e.g. over coffee), staff meetings, and phone calls. Only in more extreme cases (e.g., restrictive procedures) were formal communications sent to the program directors. Generally, the higher up the prescribed network a client oriented concern was raised, the less frequent and more formal the communication.

Figure 12 below outlines this communication pattern.

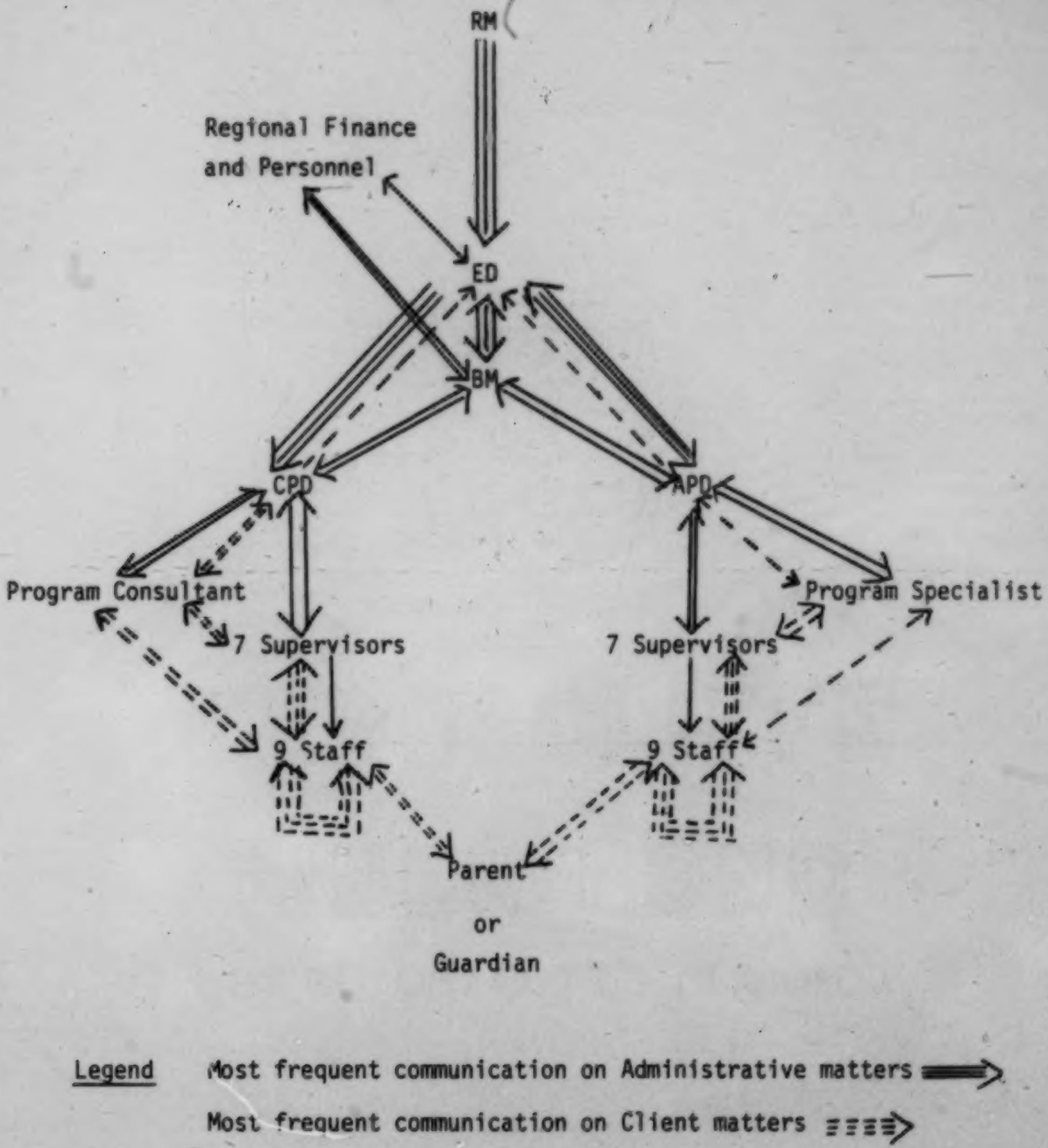
RM
Regional Finance and Personnel
ED
BM
CPD
APD
Program Consultant
Program Specialist
7 Supervisors
7 Supervisors
9 Staff
9 Staff
Parent or Guardian
Legend
Most frequent communication on Administrative matters ⇒
Most frequent communication on Client matters ⇢

Figure 12. Information Dispersal Process

A content analysis of the issues discussed during the study period at the management committee (see Appendix C) confirms the chronology of events outlined by the analysis of the documents. When the cutback were announced, the initial reaction was to centralize control over the monetary and manpower resources. This change in the organizational political system reflected the changes imposed upon the organization by the bureaucratic environment. Monitoring processes increased and adjustments were made to the technical system to meet the budget reduction goal. Information processing systems were then formalized to continue monitoring the progress. Once the short term goal appeared achievable, control eased (expenditure authority was returned to program directors) but the intensive monitoring continued. Attention was then directed at trying to determine the effects of the cutbacks on the quality of production (i.e., services to clients). To ease staff uncertainty, operational and managerial level staff input into the reformulation of the mission statement was sought. To ease parental uncertainty, a number of formal communication systems were established (e.g. Parent Advisory Committee, parent newsletter, and parent representatives at mission statement input meeting). To relieve the uncertainty generated in the bureaucratic environment, annual goals and objectives were designed which focused on specific administrative and program concerns. Finally, those in the bureaucratic environment (i.e., the regional office) hired a consultant to help them re-examine their own mission/strategy and organization structure.

An analysis of the dynamics of these meetings showed a shifting of the role perception of the Executive Director. During the first half of the study period, ED appeared to view his role as representing the bureaucracy in the organization. He almost exclusively scanned the bureaucratic environment and tried to change the organization to accommodate concerns raised in this environment. APD and in particular CPD resisted these efforts by questioning the effect the changes were going to have on the staff and therefore the clients. Both APD and CPD were primarily client focused. Though they were primarily internally directed, they also scanned the professional, community service, and parental environments. During the latter half of the study period, ED became convinced that the organization was as lean as it could be without sacrificing the type and quality of the service (i.e., changing from a developmental to a maintenance quality of care). ED, with the support of APD and CPD, utilized RM's invitation to participate in the development of a new mission and strategy for the region as an opportunity to start representing CLS in the region by raising staff and client related concerns. On the other hand, both APD and CPD appeared to realize the permanence of the fiscal restrictions. They worked with their staff to devise innovative ways of trying to achieve the client goals within the new resource limitations. They also commenced focusing some of their attention on the bureaucratic environment by accompanying ED to a number of regional committee meetings. They appeared to become more aware of the need to match some of the activities within the organization to the pressures generated by the bureaucratic environment.

Children's Services Unit Meetings

The Children's Services Unit consisted of the Children's Services program director (CPD), a program consultant, and seven group home supervisors. CPD usually developed an agenda ahead of time. She also usually established goals for herself in terms of what she expected to accomplish during each meeting. The meetings were chaired by CPD with everyone participating to a large extent. She requested a volunteer from the participants at the beginning of each meeting to take the minutes. All minutes and correspondence were kept in a 'Reading File' which CPD required the supervisors to review and initial an a monthly basis.

There was a good sense of cohesion within the group with everyone having similar expectations of the meetings. CPD encouraged everyone to participate in the meetings. Conflict and differing opinions were encouraged and abounded during the discussions. All participants appeared to be committed to the value that 'the client comes first'.

The content of the issues discussed at the Children's Services Unit meeting during the research period paralleled those of the correspondence and management meetings. The dynamics however, were somewhat different. The anger and frustration of the supervisors was openly vented during the meetings. However, CPD generally supported the need for the administrative requests coming from the director. A response to a request for input or reaction from the management committee usually followed the following format: 1) a discussion and definition of the need underlining the request; 2) discussion and development of criteria the supervisors felt were relevant in judging the appropriateness of the responses; 3) brainstorming of responses; and 4) consensus as to the most appropriate responses (combining responses and judging them according to the criteria defined earlier).

A strength of this approach was that it resulted in innovative and comprehensive responses to which the supervisors attached some commitment. A weakness of this approach was that the supervisors sometimes did not agree with the need or defined the need for the response differently than the original request. Thus they sometimes became committed to solutions to problems which were perceived differently by the management committee (and particularly ED). Another problem with this approach was if the solutions to which the supervisors became committed were not addressed or accepted, then the supervisors perceived the director as already having made up his mind before asking for their input. They therefore viewed him as going through the motions of requesting their input just so he could state that they had been consulted. This latter point was reinforced a number of times during the study period. For example, several times during general staff meetings the director requested staff input after he gave his opinion as to the solution. A number of times the director continued on with his own suggestion after receiving the input (e.g. choosing to reduce the full time houseparent to half time). On the other hand, ED stated that he was presenting his own ideas just to try to initiate discussion when his request for discussion met with silence. Once the discussion did occur, he claimed that he felt that none of the arguments for the other solutions met the need as well as his suggestion.

Adult Services Unit Meeting

The Adult Service Unit meeting was chaired by APD and attended by the other seven group home supervisors and the Program Specialist for Adult Services. The agenda was usually drafted by APD at the beginning of the meeting with input from the supervisors. These meetings averaged from one half hour to three quarters of an hour (about one third to one half the time of the average Children's Services Unit meeting). The meetings consisted mainly of reviewing the management committee minutes and passing any information and requests to the group home supervisors. Although everyone participated in the meetings, a few supervisors tended to dominate discussion. Also, most of the discussion was task-oriented (as opposed to process-orientated) with the supervisors responding to the specific issues or requests by management committee. Many of the issues which the Children's Services Unit discussed as a group, APD asked the Supervisors to respond to him individually by either meeting with him or sending him a memo.

A strength of this style, was that information was disseminated efficiently. A weakness was that supervisors tended to feel (and accept) that they were being told what to do. Also, (as verified through the interviews) some supervisors felt left out since APD did not always follow through contacting them individually.

Group Home Staff Meetings

The group home staff usually met in their home on a weekly basis. Prior to the fiscal restraint, an overlap time was scheduled every week to enable maximum attendance at these meetings. This overlap was reduced both in frequency and length by the fiscal restraints. However, the commitment of the staff to the clients, remained constant as demonstrated by their attendance and participation at these meetings.

These meetings were mainly client centered. Each core worker (a staff with its own client) updated the others on the progress or problems of his client. The supervisor and other staff participated in the discussions of alternative solutions and programs on a team basis. The minutes of the unit meetings were handwritten and posted in a communications book as well as verbally distributed among the staff and their comments solicited when required.

Special Meetings

During the research period, four special meetings were called which involved at least the strategic and managerial levels of the organization. The first meeting (February 19) was called to enable the Regional Manager (RM) update the strategic managers and supervisors on both the statutes of the termination of the houseparent position and the fiscal issues in the region. This was RM's attempt to clarify what he perceived to be misinformation that was being generated by and communicated through the informal network. The general staff reaction was that his comments were one-sided. "We've heard all of this before, just the positive picture and not the effect on the client." RM seemed to vacillate between wanting the staff to participate in decision making and wanting them to work within the constraints he had set. He wanted the staff to use their creativity and autonomy in the group homes, yet he still had strong feelings regarding some of their recommendations.

The second meeting was the first (and only) planning session arranged by ED to meet with the group home supervisors "to develop a comprehensive list of the issues, problems and concerns that we face because of the downsizing, cutbacks and re-organization". He acknowledged receiving a memo from CPD outlining issues raised by her supervisors but instead of addressing these issues he asked everyone to list issues during the meeting. More frequently than not his requests for issues were met by long periods of silence. It appeared as if he wanted to list the issues and not address them at this meeting.

The Children's Services supervisors and consultant tried to focus on the need to re-examine the values and mission statement of the organization. ED's response was that he thought the mission statement would stay the same, however, he was willing to look at it.

On April 7, ED held another meeting with the group home supervisors to give them their 88/89 budgets. BM answered any questions the supervisors asked regarding how various amounts were allocated in their budgets. The meeting focused primarily on the technical system changes required by the 1.5% reduction in the organization's budget.

In particular, ED made it clear to the supervisors that they would have to live within their own budgets. He stated that they might well not be bailed out if they did not exceed their budgets. This meant that they would have to adjust their budgets whenever they encountered unexpected expenses or expenses outside their control (e.g. staff salary increases). It was up to the supervisors to develop regular monitoring systems in their home to ensure they are staying within their budgets.

The last special meeting which occurred during the study period was the April 14 mission/value statement meeting. ED had requested the Children's Services Program Consultant to organize and run this meeting. The consultant distributed a number of articles on mission statements to each of the group homes and requested each group home to develop their mission statement for the organization prior to the meeting. This information was then collated and distributed prior to the meeting. Participants at the meeting consisted of all the strategic level managers, all of the group home supervisors, representatives from the operational level staff, the secretaries from Adult and Children's Services, and four parents.

The consultant stated that the objective of the workshop was to develop a statement which addressed the following questions: Who is our customer? What is our business? and, What should our business be?

The consultant had appointed group leaders before hand and broken the participants into groups of six - ensuring that as many levels of the organization as possible were represented in each group. The groups were first sent to various locations to discuss short philosophical statements and asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements and why.

After reporting their findings in a plenary session, each of the small groups were asked to develop mission statements. What should it be? The results of these discussion were then relayed and recorded at a plenary session. At the end of the meeting the consultant distributed an evaluation form and asked participants to complete it before they left.

Participation was excellent. Everyone appeared to have read the material before hand and had something to say.

All the comments of the participants after the meeting were quite favorable. Most were cautious about what would happen next. In the words of one group home supervisor, "I would hate to see it sent to management and die". ED was also pleased with the outcome - particularly he was amazed that everyone seemed to be on one side ("no us vs them") and that nothing 'revolutionary' came out of the 'business we should be in' discussion.

In short, these special meetings appeared to be attempts by the regional manager and executive director to ensure all levels of the organization received a correct accounting what had and was happening. It was an attempt to deal with the uncertainty he perceived that had been created by misinformation distributed via the informal network. The intra-organizational meetings were attempts by ED to try and re-establish the alignment of the technical system. This misalignment had been created by the "crisis management" approach taken to respond to the short term goals created by the budget cutbacks.

Parent Advisory Committee Meetings

The Parent Advisory Committee (P.A.C.) met officially only three times during the study period. A P.A.C. meeting had occurred on January 9 (just prior to the commencement of the study) to discuss the cost reductions and the reorganization plan. ED described this meeting as one of confrontation and disagreement. It was several days after this meeting that the "Friends of C.L.S." sent a letter to the Minister stating their concerns.

The PAC meeting on February 27 was chaired by ED. The purpose of this meeting was to update the parents on the fiscal reductions and allow them to question the regional director (RD) and the regional manager (RM) directly. ED first reviewed the cost reduction activities in a very open, honest and matter-of-fact manner. RD then reviewed the proposed budget for the coming fiscal year. He stated that although the regional average reduction was 3%, C.L.S's reduction only amounted to 1.5%. The parents requested and were given the rationale as to why the specific cuts to the houseparent positions were made. They also requested and received a complete description of the current organization structure. RD also assured the parents that: 1) privatization was a dead issue; 2) appropriate organizational changes might well have to be made from time to time; and 3) alternative living arrangements for C.L.S graduates was not a funding issues since they would still continue to be funded under the region's umbrella. The parents seemed satisfied with his assurances.

After RD left, ED requested the parent's opinion regarding C.L.S. moving towards becoming a smoke free environment. The parents unanimously agreed. Finally, the purpose and objectives of P.A.C. were reviewed. It was agreed that the committee was advisory to the management of C.L.S. and as such the chairman and vice-chairman should be parents. The parents agreed that the managerial responsibility rested with the Department; they wanted assurance though that their input was being heard. As one parent stated "I thought it was a waste of time last time. We were saying things and you were saying things and it was already decided, so we had to get proactive".

During this meeting it became clear that a number of the parents had different expectations regarding the mission of C.L.S.. Some viewed it as a permanent residence, while others as a means of development and training. None of the parents however, would be satisfied if C.L.S. became strictly a maintenance program for their children. It appeared from the discussion that parents became pro-active because they felt that the management of C.L.S. was not (or could not) listen to their fears that the quality of services was being eroded or that the agency itself was going to be handed over to the privated sector where a number of them had had negative experiences. The tone of this meeting though was open, honest and congenial. The next meeting was set for March 27.

Later that month the March 27 meeting was re-scheduled to April 25. The April 25 meeting was again postponed by mutual agreement between ED and some of the participating parents to May 14.

On May 14th, the parents requested to meet by themselves a half hour before the scheduled P.A.C. meeting. During this meeting they reviewed the terms of reference of P.A.C. and elected a chairman and vice-chairman.

The majority of this P.A.C. meeting was spent trying to clarify the terms of reference and the resulting expectations the managers had for the committee. The parents also tried to clarify their expectations of the managers. Much of the meeting was also spent clarifying parental concerns based on rumors they had heard. ED was very honest in his responses and the parents seemed relatively satisfied with his answers and comments. It appeared from this meeting that the parents were now willing to take on more of the organization and running of the meeting itself. For example, three parents volunteered to start a newsletter as long as C.L.S. did the typing. The meeting ended with an apparent feeling of partnership between strategic level managers and the parents.

One result of the fiscal restraint appeared to be a reconfirmation of the advisory role of the parents. Conflict was created when those in the bureaucracy viewed the parents as trying to tell the C.L.S. managers how to run the organization. They saw the parents' role limited only to guiding and deciding what was to happen to their individual child, not the organization. The parents, on the other hand, having tried to deal with ED directly (January 9 meeting), perceived that their concerns were not being given appropriate consideration. They therefore decided to write the Minister directly. The Minister requested her information regarding the concerns via the bureaucracy. In her response she reiterated the bureaucratic concern that the parents did not have a role in managing the organization.

Finally, a clarification of roles and expectations occurred between the strategic managers and the P.A.C. members. The parents assumed more control over the P.A.C. meetings (i.e., elected their own chairman and vice-chairman), and the director gave his assurances that their input would be made known to his superiors in the regional office even if he did not agree with it. Through this process a new equilibrium appeared to be established between the pressures generated by the parents and the organization.

In summary, the analysis of the participant-observation notes reveals that the chronology of events was, in part, a result of decisions made to endeavor to resolve conflicts in the organizational political system which were emanating from two different types of orientations: the client-centered, developmental orientation of the personal service professionals; and the means oriented, bureaucratic focus of the impersonal service professionals. The former appeared to view the latter as having the authority to make the organization decisions, but as not fully understanding the implications of these decisions on the clients. The latter, in turn, appeared to view the former as having become accustomed to an almost luxurious level of service delivery which could no longer be tolerated in the current organizational environment.

This misalignment in the political system appeared to create and reinforce a drifting apart of group expectations and the reasons used to justify what they were doing, resulting in an 'expectational rift' between the major organizational stakeholders.

Even though there were managerial style differences between the Adult and Children Service Units, they utilized almost identical information systems. These client-oriented professionals primarily utilized the emergent network to implement their duties. They were more accustomed to informal and personal methods of gathering and exchanging information regarding their clients. This allowed them to accumulate and debate different and even conflicting points of view in order to taylor the developmental programs of their clients. The means-oriented professionals relied more on the prescribed network, utilizing more formal and summative means of gathering and exchanging information.

Although both communication methods appeared appropriate for the tasks of each group, they reflected and reinforced two different types of organizational political systems. The client oriented professionals were, on the whole, more comfortable with an organic, collegial political system. Constructive criticism and conflict were not only tolerated but encouraged to ensure that all perceptions of the clients needs, abilities and problems were utilized to develop his/her Individual Program Plan. They naturally seemed to assume that this method of problem-solving would be used to resolve the organizational problems created by the final restraint.

The means oriented professionals appeared to favor a more mechanistic political system to resolve these organizational problems. They appeared to seek a simple solution that could be applied 'across the board' rather than individualizing a solution for each group home. They appeared to want to resolve this situation as quickly and expeditiously as possible, with a minimum of conflict and 'pain' so the organization could get back to business as soon as possible.

These opposing approaches were resolved through a compromise system which allowed for the staff input into the generation of alternative organizational solutions (e.g., the scenarios). The final decision was then made in a meeting between RM and ED. The staff were then promised that the autonomy of the group homes would now be enhanced to allow each group home to individually work out the best way of coping with the decision in their home.

Throughout this process, the role played by the parents appears to have been important. The parents, apparently for reasons of their own, supported the group home staffs' position of retaining the status quo in the homes. They favored cuts at the managerial and strategic levels of the organizations. Although their suggestions were not accepted in the immediate solution, the pressure they applied resulted in a re-evaluation of their role in organizational decision making. The chairmanship of the P.A.C. was transferred from the executive director to an elected parent. They received assurances from ED that their opinions would be sought, considered, and passed on to the region by the strategic managers in all relevant future decisions. Finally, a minimum number of regular meetings (three P.A.C. meetings and one General Meeting of the parents), and a procedure by which either the strategic managers or the parents could call special meetings was established.

The reasons as to why the various stakeholders acted as they did to create these organizational dynamics was, on the whole, surmised from their statements and participation in the meetings which the researcher attended. The clarification and validation of these stated reasons was obtained via the personal interviews of the population or available sample of the various groups of stakeholders.

CHAPTER 7

THE STRATEGIC MANAGERS

The interview schedule (see appendix A) was used to interview representatives of the following five groups: The strategic level managers, the managerial level group home supervisors, the operational level group home staff, the environmental economic forces (as manifested through the various levels of bureaucrats), and the environmental political forces to retain the status quo (as manifested through the parents). The following three chapters summarize the results of these interviews using Tichy's framework.

Strategic Level Managers

The strategic level managers consisted of the executive director (ED), the business manager (BM), the Children's Services Unit program director (CPD), and the Adult Services Unit program director (APD). ED was appointed director of C.L.S. two years prior to the study. His appointment was in keeping with the Department's philosophy of rotating managers through various programs and branches within the Department. ED was appointed from the program and planning division. Though he was perceived as having appropriate administrative skills, he did not view himself as having the professional expertise required to produce the services of the agency. Both CPD and APD, on the other hand, had been with the organization almost from the start. They had risen through the ranks to their current position and felt a strong commitment to the developmental services being provided to the clients. BM had been hired to her position by ED shortly after his arrival. Both she and the others viewed her position as centering around the monitoring of the budget and supervision of the financial and personnel functions in the organization.

The Technical System

Mission/Strategy

There was a split within the strategic level during the major part of the research study. Because he was appointed by the bureaucracy and the major crisis of the day was channeled through the bureaucracy, ED scanned the bureaucratic environment almost exclusively. He was outwardly focused, bringing requests and orders into the organization from the region. For example:

> Researcher: "So from you and APD down [the organization] there's some coherency in the organization. What makes the break?"
>
> CPD: "The feeling that you don't really have input into decisions that the region is making. Feeling ED was told to see this [the specific organizational changes] by RM and so he's just going to do it" (CPD: 3).

He was therefore viewed by both program directors as not effectively representing agency concerns in the region. They also perceive him as not fully understanding the consequences of the fiscal decisions on the clients. For example:

> Researcher: "What do you think he thinks this organization's business is?"

CPD: "To provide residential services and day program services to severely disabled people' is what his mission statement says".

Researcher: "How is that different from how you see the organization"

CPD: It's more than that. It's a support system to families. Its an opportunity for people like this to actually live closer to their families, live-in the community, access their community. It's not just [providing] residential services" (CPD: 43).

These conflicting viewpoints however, were dealt with during the formulation of the new mission statement which occurred about two months after this interview.

APD and CPD focused mainly on the organization itself. CPD in particular was concerned how the new reduction in resources fit the mission. Both APD and CPD also scanned the parental environment. They continually relayed to ED the concerns of the parents and the staff regarding the reduction of the quality of services.

By the end of the study, these opposing positions appeared to converge somewhat. ED focused more on the internal workings of the organization (e.g. staff satisfaction survey, smoking survey, requesting reports on the effects on staff of the fiscal restraint, etc.). APD and CPD were invited to participate with ED in a number of regional committees. Also, a formal relationship with the parent group was reviewed and re-established. Both APD and CPD also stated that they developed an appreciation for the need to meet client needs within the budgetary resources allocated.

Organization Structure

Tasks at the strategic level were also divided, with ED assuming the primary responsibility for the linkage between the bureaucracy of the region and C.L.S.. APD and CPD concentrated on the organizational processes required to meet the needs of clients. BM collected, collated and distributed fiscal and personnel information to the program directors, ED, and her counterparts in the region. The commencement of the fiscal restraint however did result in some perceived duplication of services. "They [BM's unit] monitor our budget for each of the group homes. So they keep a record and we keep a record. It doesn't seem to be worth it to spend all that time keeping a record twice" (CPD). Intergration of the functions occurred via the weekly management committee meeting.

By the end of the study period, the schism between the means-oriented tasks communicated to the organization from the region via the director and the client-oriented tasks of the staff was recognized and started to close somewhat. New ways of structuring the organization and ways of simplifying organizational processes to increase efficiency and effectiveness were identified and discussed. Little concrete action however, had been undertaken.

Human Resource Management

Because APD and CPD had progressed through the organization, their perceptions and skills were client oriented prior to the fiscal reductions, they had focused on improving the professional knowledge and standards of their staff in the group homes. They established expectations of high professional standards within the group homes by developing an elaborate Individual Program Plan (I.P.P.) process. Staff skills and expectations were raised via individual consultation and staff development classes. Both APD and CPD evaluated themselves utilizing these professional and client centered measures. For Example:

> Researcher: "Do you set goals once a year?"
>
> APD: "... the goals have not tended to change a whole lot ... CPD and I are more or less setting our own goals. Although we have agency goals which get established, we have something to go by. But if they didn't exist we'd still carry on with something. I would have Adult Services goals regardless of whether C.L.S. goals existed or not, because I simply wouldn't be able to wait until that happened.
>
> Researcher: "Okay, then what are the criteria used to evaluate your performance? ..."
>
> APD: "They would be related to the clients and to programming. They have been typically - whether the IPP procedure or some other technique of providing trainers. ... That has changed a little-bit because of the budget."
>
> Researcher: "How?"
>
> APD: "Well the budget was obviously more important. ... We've got to do it with less resources and it's a bit harder to do. So it's something that has to also be considered as part of my evaluation. - that we are living within the budget. Even though I don't think you can put a price tag on the care, it's something that's imposed and we will do to the best of our ability" (APD: 6-7).

ED, on the other hand, was placed in the organization with a view to trimming down what the bureaucrats felt was a "cadillac service". He carried out his role of representing the regional and departmental concerns within the agency quite effectively. He focused on fiscal standards such as staying within the allocated budget and complying with more administrative regulations and standards (e.g. occupational health and safety standards, union master agreement, personnel regulations, etc.). He therefore focused on ensuring that appropriate programs and standards were in place rather than on their specific content. "Although I've had some background I don't see myself as a technically trained individual, an expert in the field of rehabilitation. And therefore I work with and through the program directors who carry on the more technical aspects of the service that's being provided" (ED: 33)

With the reduction of resources, a number of the goals set by APD and CPD were not achievable. CPD took over the supervision of one of her group homes from January to March in order to save the money of hiring a replacement supervisor when the original supervisor resigned. Fiscal rather than client oriented criteria became the almost exclusive measurement of their performance over the short term. This did however, result in some dissonance. For example, at one point during her interview, CPD stated "... already he [ED] has said to us, 'this is all I expect you to do, live within the budget'. My feeling is we won't sacrifice client planning just to live within the budget. That for me is very important because that makes the work meaningful to my staff. That's the part of their job that keeps them here, that keeps them motivated. So I would be trying to influence that in saying, 'well, no, we just can't concentrate on the budget.' It's boring to concentrate on just the budget. It really is" (CPD: 57).

The monitoring role of B.M. was also highlighted. For example, when APD was asked what affect the fiscal restraint had on who influences what he did, he stated the following:

> "I guess, recently I would probably have a different kind of relationship with the business manager because I feel now that its more critical to be involved in knowing exactly what's going on as early as possible. In other words, the information she [BM] gets, whether it comes from the region or its information that she is sending to the regions, it is critical that I know that my portion of it or Adult Services portion of it is accurate and is presented appropriately. Where as before we were less involved in budget and I don't think that I had that close a relationship with the business manager" (APD: 4).

BM's performance was measured in terms of the accuracy and promptness of her monthly reports (instead of her previously quarterly reports). Both program directors also increased their monitoring functions but their attention was geared more to monitoring the affects of the cutbacks on staff moral and the quality of services to the clients. They therefore continued their role advocating on behalf of their staff and clients by insuring these concerns were highlighted whenever appropriate.

By the end of the study period, all of the strategic managers were examining alternative ways of distributing the tasks and roles among the various levels within the organization. They were working to develop new performance standards, evaluation criteria and organization processes which would be in line with the redistributed tasks and new expectations. They were, however, discovering that staff were more accepting of changes to organization processes than they were to changes in their tasks.

The Political System

Mission/Strategy

Approximately one year prior to the introduction of the fiscal restraints, ED had drafted a mission statement, discussed it at the management committee and then distributed it through the Adult and Children's Services Unit. It was used to establish ten agency goals which were discussed and developed at a meeting between the strategic managers and the group home supervisors. The goals resulting from this process were almost exclusively client oriented. ED perceived therefore that staff input had been taken into consideration. APD gave the mission and goals to his supervisors. CPD discussed them with her supervisors and developed three goals for that fiscal year. These goals were then incorporated into the performance appraisal for her supervisors.

A problem arose, however, with the advent of the fiscal restraint. These client oriented goals were de-emphasized and the goal became "to live within the budget". ED was viewed by both program directors as ignoring the mission statement as a guide to decision making when he recommended the reduction of the houseparent positions to the region. ED felt he had to make the decision quickly using criteria imposed upon him by the region. He did not feel there was a mechanism in place that would allow for the discussion and resolution of both the regional and staff criteria. Once the decision was made and the short term fiscal objective achieved, both program directors pushed for a process which would involve all levels of staff and representatives of the parent to provide input into the new mission and strategy. ED finally agreed to a meeting and process which would enable input from all levels of staff and the parents. He asked the Children's Services Program Consultant to design the process and chair the meeting. This input was used extensively when the strategic managers met to formulate the new mission statement - resulting in a high sense of commitment to the statement by all members of the strategic managers. A follow-up meeting to provide input into the formation of agency goals and objectives for the following fiscal year (i.e., April 1, 1987 - March 31, 1988) was scheduled to occur by the end of June. This meeting however, was postponed and never re-scheduled.

The short time frame within which the fiscal goal was to be achieved did appear to result in some misalignment within this component of the political system. Prior to the fiscal restraints, both program directors viewed the authority for formulating a mission statement as residing primarily within the organization. According to ED, during to the period prior to the fiscal restraints, "I saw myself as more part of [the region] than as somebody coming in and exerting my own preferences in terms of how things should work" (ED: 50). When he was interviewed in May, however, he felt things had changed. "But now I feel financially we are pretty trim and I'm not prepared to simply do the region's bidding on that. ... Now representing the agency in the region is more of a priority than before" (Ibid.: 52).

Organization Structure

Prior to the fiscal restraint, both APD and CPD were expenditure officers for their unit. That is, they could authorize the expenditures in their budgets. In practice, the group home supervisors initiated the expenditure requests with the program director monitoring and authorizing the requests on a regular basis. This was consistent with the organic organization structure of the group homes and their units. With the fiscal restraints, however, ED required that he initial all expenditure requests - centralizing the expenditure authority until the end of the fiscal year (3 months). At the beginning of the new fiscal year (April 1) expenditure authority resorted back to the program directors. This centralization of fiscal authority, though in line with the bureaucratic pressures, created an historical break from past practices. Both program directors felt slighted, as if they could not be trusted with exercising the appropriate caution over expenditures.

Prior to the fiscal restraint, ED perceived the management committee as functioning as a team. He felt decisions were made primarily through consensus. Both program directors, however, were cautious of ED's motives and were unsure if he 'really' understood the workings of the group homes. Although it was acknowledged that ED had final say, he relied heavily on the professional knowledge and expertise of APD and CPD. BM's influence was based primarily on her ability to facilitate the functioning of the group homes by continually readjusting the budgetary resources in accordance with the needs to find in the homes. She also facilitated ED and the program directors with their functions of monitoring the budgets. Fiscal resources were viewed as a means to the program ends.

With the onslaught of the fiscal restraints, the monitoring and control of fiscal resources as a means, suddenly became an end unto itself. This shifted the balance of power at the strategic level to those involved with these resources - namely the executive director and the business manager. For example:

Researcher: "O.k, but on the books you still have the expenditure officer authority?"

CPD: Yes, but, I mean --- "

Researcher: "He [ED] put in a process whereby he has to initial it?"

CPD: "Yes"

Researcher: "So there's more monitoring."

CPD: "Yes, I can accept that."

Researcher: "What I'm trying to get at -- it seems that the function of the financial unit is just to pull together and give you information on how your doing."

CPD: "They're supposed to be a resource check and thats not whats happening."

Researcher: "It's not?"

CPD: "I don't feel that that's what's happening."

Researcher: "How could they do that better? How would it happen? Whats your ideal?"

CPD: "My ideal? To ask me for input. When you're going to be making a decision about my budget, about cutting back my budget, can you please come to me and provide some rationale as to why you've decided to do it this way. ... "

Researcher: "So if BM and ED are given instructions to reduce manpower --- "

CPD: "They should be talking to APD and I about how we

> might accomplish that. And instead what's happening during this period is you'll get a memo that says 'I took five thousand dollars out of this budget' and 'I took this much money out of this budget', and you don't even know at that point in time whether you have five thousand dollars in that budget to give up" (CPD: 19).

Though the management team still appeared to endeavor to make decisions on a consensus basis, B.M's influence regarding decisions did increase greatly over the short term period. By the end of the study period, a balance of power was re-established but with BM retaining more influence than she had previously. The program directors had also developed more extensive fiscal information systems than they had had previously. This resulted in some duplication of fiscal monitoring but was in line with the expectation that the autonomy of the group home supervisors should be increased since they knew best the needs of their clients and staff. For example:

> Researcher: "What effect has the fiscal restraint had on who influences what you do? Has there been any change in that?
>
> APD: "I guess, recently I would probably have a different kind of relationship with the business manager because I feel now that it's more critical to be involved knowing exactly what's going on as early as possible. In other words the information she gets, whether it comes from the region or it's information that she is sending to the regions. It is critical that I know that my portion of it or Adult Services portion of it is accurate and is presented appropriately. Where as before when we were less involved in budget I don't think that I had that close a relationship with the business manager regardless of the persons that we had in that position" (APD: 4).

Human Resource Management

Historically, the C.L.S. had had a number of acting short term directors who had been appointed by those in the bureaucracy. C.L.S. was viewed by those in the bureaucracy as a "cadillac service". These interim directors were appointed from and by the bureaucracy to evaluate the efficiency of the organization. ED was appointed to the directors position in the same manner and initially shared the same concerns. Soon after he arrived, the former business manager resigned and ED appointed BM to the position. ED acknowledged his lack of technical expertise regarding the service delivery of the organization and therefore relied heavily on the information in this area provided to him by the program directors.

Both APD and CPD had been with the organization a long time. They were very committed to the professional values underlining the program delivery. This created some tension. The program directors viewed ED as having the power to make changes but, in their eyes, not possessing the practical experience and technical knowledge to realize the implications of these decisions. On the other hand, the program directors, in ED's eyes, did not have the skills or did not place enough priority on the utilization and control of the fiscal resources.

Both program directors therefore, cautiously protected their functional areas. They rewarded their staff based on the achievement of professional criteria related to client development. They promoted group home staff to supervisory positions based on the staff's demonstration of superior professional knowledge and experience. Professional excellence was rewarded with appraisal scores of four or five on the five point government appraisal system.

ED however, expressed concern regarding the number of high performance appraisal scores. High scores were accompanied by double pay increments and also lowered staff expectations (i.e., those staff who were helping their clients progress at a good rate - in other words adequately performing their job - expected to receive scores of four or five, instead of three, the appraisal score entitled "adequately performing job duties").

ED wanted the higher scores to be reserved for truly outstanding performance beyond the requirements of the job. He therefore centralized the authority to give these higher ratings. He was perceived by the program directors, however, as not possessing the professional and technical knowledge to make this judgement. This issue was not resolved during the period of the study.

With the advent of the fiscal restraint, the performance criteria based on client development was set aside as the job of getting through the crisis period took priority. For example, according to APD:

> "It became totally crisis oriented - dealing with the budget. I spent all of my time really either working, thinking or writing relating to budget. And everything else just sort of sat. I mean I did the regular signing as it came across, but my full attention was more geared towards the budget. And I felt that's pretty much what it was for the supervisors and crew, and for CPD and ED" (APD: 2).

The formal performance criteria however, were not changed. The rationale for not achieving them due to the lack of resources was now deemed quite acceptable since the overriding performance criteria became the degree to which the fiscal goal was achieved. Group home staff, however, were still promoted to acting supervisor positions based on their professional knowledge and expertise.

The government-imposed hiring freeze, which was in effect for the first half of the study period, meant that the couple of supervisors that resigned during this time period had to be replaced with acting supervisors drawn from the group home staff. Once the freeze was lifted, the department required that those who lost their jobs because of the cutbacks be given priority. Matches in terms of wage levels were made by the corporate personnel branch. The organization had to state why the matched person would not be eligible for that position if they so thought. This eventually created a back-log of vacancies within C.L.S. as the managers tried to delay hiring to permanent positions as long as possible - hoping that other organizations in the department would absorb these persons. This, in turn, put more pressure on the permanent group home staff since they had to work more with wage personnel who were not familiar with all of the clients.

In May CPD announced that she would be resigning as of September. This was the first opportunity for promotion to the program director positions in many years. CPD was concerned that RM might place someone from the region directly into her position rather than allowing someone to be promoted from within the organization. She therefore gave a lengthy notice period in an effort to try and influence the selection of her successor. She was particularly interested in promoting someone whose managerial style and professional commitment was similar to her own. ED, however, viewed this as an opportunity to re-examine the organization structure of C.L.S. He therefore decided to appoint someone in an acting position for about six months. Both he and RM sat on the hiring panel for the acting position. They awarded the position to a supervisor from the group home that was being closed in Adult Services rather than one of the two candidates who had applied from Children's Services. This may result in a closer working relationship and exchange of information between the two program units since APD may feel less competitive with his former staff.

The Cultural System

Missions/Strategy

The values underlining the mission statement both before and after the fiscal reduction remained the same. In fact, the one page description of the values and principles of the organization which accompanied the mission statement formulation was left unchanged. All of these values were directed towards "the rights of the individual clients to respect", "maximization of their potential", "self determination", and "the right to live in the community" (mission statement, C.L.S.). In fact the new mission statement highlighted the developmental and professional strategy of the organization and specifically emphasized these major values which were emphasized in the staff and parents input into the formulation of the mission statement. This appeared to be a reaction to the perceived means-oriented values of the executive director. ED seemed to agree totally with these values. He did however interpret them as implying 'within the resources available'. In other words, he believed one could respect the individual rights of the clients regardless of the resources available.

Many of the arguments presented during the aftermath of the introduction of the fiscal reductions were based on implicit assumptions that the "powers that be" were replacing client-oriented values with means-oriented values. The staff supervisors and program directors were concerned that the dignity of the clients might be assigned a secondary role to the achieving of the "bottom line" objective. This was in reference to a statement made by ED during the initial phase of the organizational reaction to the fiscal restraint that, if need be, he was willing to except a 'maintenance standard' in the quality of care. Though he stated many times after making this statement that he did not mean that the dignity of the clients was to be compromised but that it might take longer to achieve some of the client goals, the program directors, supervisors, and many of the group home staff questioned his real commitment to the quality of the service to the clients. Some of the uncertainty seemed to dissipate, however, once the mission and values statements were formulated and distributed.

By the end of the study period, all four of the strategic managers seemed to agree that the values underlying the mission were indeed client centered. The means with which to achieve this mission were to become the focus of the agency goals and objectives. Thus consensus was achieved as to what was the 'end' of the organization (the mission statement) and what was the 'means' (budgetary and other resources). It was agreed by all that although the fiscal resources would affect the degree to which the purpose might be achieved for each client, it would not supplant the purpose. Even though ED agreed that the mission statements were "statements to weigh decisions against", both program directors were still somewhat uncomfortable with ED's attitude that "it's acceptable to me to do the best you can within the resources you have." Their interpretation of this attitude was that ED might still be willing to compromise the professional standards of the quality of care in the name of fiscal expediency.

Organization Structure

The managerial styles of the strategic managers appeared to differ considerably. CPD saw her job almost as a way of life. She was very committed to the development of this population. She spent many hours in the group homes themselves helping and communicating with frontline as well as the supervisory staff. She was very process and participatory oriented, involving her staff to a maximal degree not only in decision making but also in problem definition and generation of innovative solutions. She was also quite idealistic, driven by the principle of normalization and fighting any trend that might insinuate institutionalization for this target group. Because of this style, she and her supervisors often developed innovative solutions. These solutions sometimes seemed inappropriate to ED and BM, since they were solutions to problems which had been redefined from what they perceived was the original request.

APD, though highly committed to the clients and the professional ideal, was more task oriented in his approach. He tended to relay requests directly to supervisors as information items. When alternative solutions were requested, he sought solutions based on the assumption that the original problem defined by ED was in fact the real problem. He favored working with his supervisors on more of a individual rather than group basis. He was perceived though by many of his supervisors as favoring two or three of them over the rest. For example, he worked a few shifts in only two of these homes during the short term fiscal crisis. This was also born out by interviews with his operational level staff - the majority of whom had not met him or saw him very infrequently.

This difference in managerial style was acknowledged by ED in the following passage:

ED: "When we were going through the restraint planning, we picked up a real difference between APD's group of people and CPD's group of people. And in a sense, they both represented their groups hanging together, but in very different ways."

Researcher: "Can you describe that?"

ED: "Well, adult services we saw as a group that was prepared to say, 'o.k, this is what we have to do. Let's start working on it. Let's deal with it. Let's make our suggestions.'

When decisions came, they were the ones that said, 'that's the decision. Let's get with it now. Let's see what we can do.'

> CPD's group was much more upset. There were things going on where people would fuel each other in terms of their unhappiness. ...
>
> Suggestions coming out of Adult Services vs Children's Services were also very different. Children's Services was being much more radical in their suggestions. In fact, some of their suggestions - my perception was, at the time, that they were ridiculous. One of the suggestions was about the Admin. Unit. I mean, 'let's get rid of the Executive Director'. I mean, I didn't take that as a threat I'd lose - I mean, if that was the best thing, sure I'd go somewhere else. But it was ridiculous to say that APD and CPD would be sort of co-managers, and that sort of thing. And the suggestions was, 'oh yes, it can be done'.
>
> Another suggestion was to privatize the place. Well, that word just a little while back [created a lot of commotion with the parents] ... but that came out again and again. ... We never really got to debating that issue because it just wasn't feasible again in the short run" (ED: 45).

ED's management style also seemed to be quite task orientated. Although he viewed himself as being a participatively-oriented manager, he seemed to view participation as one of the means to achieve the task at hand. For example, when RM requested an occupational health and safety work plan, ED drafted it himself and then asked for comments from the other strategic managers. He also redrafted the agencies five year plan and presented it at a regional committee meeting that was attended by both of his program directors before they had a chance to see it. (It was this latter event which motivated CPD to raise her concerns regarding the decision making process at the strategic level.)

ED appeared to view the process of participation as a task as well. For example, he issued a memo requesting all supervisors and the program directors to attend a series of four weekly planning meetings to enable the supervisors to participate in the identification of organizational issues and alternative solutions. When the first meeting did not produce issues which were new to him, however, he cancelled the other three meetings - apparently on the assumption that the supervisors had had their chance to participate.

During the interview, ED appeared to acknowledge the interaction between his stated belief in participatory management and his need to get things done quickly.

ED: "I was just thinking ..., reflecting on the development in myself. Yes, I am changing. Part of what I'm doing may be rationalizing but what's happened has been for the good. But you know clearly somethings are changing, and the little hints I get are that they might be [changing] in the right direction. You know, its better to be decentralized and have local autonomy than centralized - that sort of thing."

Researcher: "You mean in the current environment?"

ED: "What I seem to be thinking is that its inherently better regardless of the environment. Basic theory would tell you that people will get more satisfaction and be happier in their jobs if they feel that they're an important and critical part of it and that decisions that affect them are, at least in part, made by them. Though, you know, it's better to do it that way whenever you can."

Researcher: "How would that affect or change your current decision making process?"

ED: "Well, I think it would help in terms of things like making quick decisions for instance, or feeling the need to respond quickly without consultation, without involvement, to requests or directives that come from you and come to you."

I think I've felt that over the past year and a half [that when] somebody's asked for something, we [had] to get it to them quick. It's too cumbersome to talk to a whole bunch of people. But once your processes is set up and your expectation is set up and you get the word out, people being used to working on that

> kind of thing could come back fairly quickly with their ideas and their suggestions. In some cases you might be able to accommodate individual differences. Somebody says, 'I wanted to do this and will do it this way' you can say, 'o.k, each of you do it your own way'. In other cases, we would have to take the time to say, 'well, is this something that has to be done in a similar way by everybody?' " (ED: 16-17).

BM's managerial style was very task oriented. Though committed to the client values of the organization she had a very practical orientation. Both her formal and informal networks were geared towards facilitating the monitoring and collation of the budget. She was not, however, strictly governed by rules and procedures. She was quite willing to bend the rules and develop innovative ways to endeavor to meet the bureaucratic and fiscal demands in ways which did not compromise the needs of the clients.

The following passage exemplifies BM's practical perspective.

> Researcher: "How are decision made in this organization?"
>
> BM: "Well, in my opinion, I think people have always had input or the opportunity to give input. But from what I hear, people don't feel that. They don't feel that they've had the opportunity to give their input. And I don't quite understand why they feel that way, when its a very large agency. In order to solicit one hundred eighty opinions is very difficult. And I think that ED and the [management] team have done a lot to try and get as much input from the entire field as they can. But people still feel that they're not getting enough opportunity."
>
> Researcher: "Do you have any inkling as to why they feel that way?"
>
> BM: "Well, I think its the kind of thing that starts at the top and is passed on. It goes to the next level, the next level passes it on to the supervisors, and the supervisors will pass it on to the group home. Now, whoever's in the group home at the time will know about it. All those not in the group home never hear

> about it. So they didn't get to participate. So I think its just because they're so many hands to go through and there's so many people that its very difficult to ensure that everybody is given an opportunity" (BM: 3).

Though the managerial styles differed quite markedly among these strategic managers, their own styles did appear to be in line with the particular job for which they were responsible. One of the effects of the fiscal reduction was the highlighting of the different managerial styles as the strategic managers grappled with the resulting problems.

The subcultures of the various units reflected these different managerial styles. The administrative unit was quite task oriented, while the children's unit was the most organic - tolerating and encouraging conflicting perspectives as information and concerns from the group homes travelled upwards through a variety of roots to CPD. The Adult Service Unit though bottom-up oriented, appeared to tolerate less confrontation and divergence of views. The cultures of these various units though were integrated by the fact that they shared the client-oriented values and common mission of the organization.

Human Resource Management

As mentioned above, the basic individual values of the strategic managers were service oriented. They all believed in the dignity of the clients they were serving. Professional values (e.g. using professional knowledge to work for the good of the client and society) were promoted through the performance appraisal, consultation, and staff development programs in the two program units. CPD and APD developed lists of questions and scenarios for recruiting which were geared to elicit the types of values held by the candidates for group home supervisor positions. Only those individuals who placed a high degree of commitment to a community living orientation (as opposed to an institutional orientation) were hired. It was because of this value orientation that both program directors were concerned about having the personnel department arbitrarily place departmental employees who had lost their positions due to the fiscal cut backs into vacant C.L.S positions.

Through this selection process, the vast majority of the staff in the organization adhered to and supported the personal service professional perspective. They viewed with suspicion those impersonal service professionals in the administrative areas whom they perceived as not as totally committed to these client centered values - especially since these persons were viewed as possessing an extremely high concentration of power within the organization. To counter this, there appeared to be an unconscious filtering of the information available to the administrative persons. The focus on meeting the fiscal goal, especially during the initial three months of the study (January to March), created a conflict and confusion as to whether the underlying efficiency values of the means orientation would continue to dominate the effectiveness values of the client-oriented personnel. This was noted by APD when he stated:

> "I think the dividing line is there. It is very clearly there, that [from] ED this way [up into the bureaucracy], it's one attitude; and from CPD and myself down, it's another attitude. And I think ED has expressed on many occasions that things are just going to have to change. We just aren't going to be able to do all the things we did before. That kind of comment is pretty scary for me, and for CPD, and a lot of the supervisors because they feel that a lot of the things that we fought a long time to get in place

> are just simply going to disappear because we now no longer have the money to do things" (APD: 16).

Therefore, to protect the continuance of the quality of the client programs, the program directors appeared to establish an informal protocol which required all information to pass through them before going to ED and the Administrative Unit. ED appeared to touch on this when he stated: "I felt that I've been more pressed to make sure I communicate and they [APD and CPD] have felt that they should communicate [with me]. I mean, I feel like I frequently drop into an office to talk to somebody, but I don't feel that that happens back quite so much" (ED: 4).

This filtering of information appears to have occurred both on an informal and formal basis. As ED observed:

> ED: "I typically, unless there's a specific concern by an individual, don't get memos from the staff, the frontline staff, and not to many from the supervisors. I have an open door policy, and you know, supervisors will drop in when they want to chat about something or deal with an issue but typically that doesn't happen because I'm not their direct supervisor really. And I guess my assumption has to be that most of what they need they get from their supervisor, the program directors.
>
> There are lots of mechanisms for communication. The extent to which it really happens and important information moves back and forth, I'm not to sure about. You know I feel that there is some lacking there. I ran into this a lot more when I first came than I seem to now. But there was a real emphasis on the chain of command. Like you don't go talk to somebody else until you talk to me, you're direct supervisor first. ... I've seen supervisors emphasis this with their staff. 'You don't go beyond me until you deal with me first'. I've seen it happen at the program director level. 'You talk to me first before you just drop in with ED.'

> So at first the open door policy was welcomed and then there were a few problems with it in terms of people did, in fact, did just call up or drop in. I haven't seen that happen to much recently. ...

Researcher: "So your not involved with the informal networks?"

ED: "No, no."

Researcher: "What about you and BM or the Admin. Unit?"

ED: "Some of the supervisors will chit chat more on a personal level with [Admin. Unit staff]. So I get some of my feedback that way. And again, I treat it as informal, just being aware of whats happening" (ED: 20-21).

This segmentation also appeared between the Adult and Children's Services. As noted by Ed, "... CPD's unit and APD's unit really can be, in many respects to very distinct units or areas. 'We do it this way; we do this way', and never the twain shall meet" (ED: 18). This segmentation seemed to be reinforced by both their different managerial styles and the difference in the manpower resource allocations. Before the fiscal restraint, the 'Adult Services model' consisted of eleven staff per group home, where as the 'Children's Services model' consisted of ten staff per group home. This was one of the reasons ED proposed one group home model consisting of ten persons per home as a means to meet part of the fiscal reduction objective.

CHAPTER 8

THE MIDDLE MANAGERS

The managerial level of the organization consisted of fourteen group home supervisors, the children's services program consultant, and the adult services program specialist. All sixteen individuals were interviewed.

Technical System

Mission/Strategy

The environment scanned by the fourteen supervisors consisted primarily of those agencies and other resources (e.g. general practitioners, schools, recreation programs, etc.) which provided the services required by the seven clients and their group homes. They also focused on the concerns expressed by the parents or guardians regarding their child. For those clients who had no family involved, the supervisors established contact with the Office of the Public Guardian (for consents and personal decisions) and the Office of the Public Trustee (for financial decisions) for the adult clients (over the age of 18), and the Office of the Children's Guardian for their clients who were still legally children.

Internally, the supervisors concentrated on the strengths and weaknesses of the staff in their own group homes. As one supervisor stated, "my expectations are that the staff would carry out their duties; that they would develop the kids. Everyone would do their job in the group home" (A: 32).

With the advent of the fiscal restraints, the supervisors turned their attention to the meeting of the bureaucratic expectations which were being imposed upon them. They spent much more time trying to clarify these bureaucratic expectations which some perceived as changing the organizational priorities and others saw as being incompatible with the mission statement. For example:

> Researcher: "How was your job changed due to the fiscal restraint? What effect did it have on it?"
>
> Supervisor: "It vastly changed the priority of my job for a certain amount of time. Whether that will continue or not I'm not quite sure."
>
> Researcher: "How did it change?"
>
> Supervisor: "Priorities, ... all of a sudden financial management became the number one priority.
>
> Researcher: "As opposed to what before?"
>
> Supervisor: "The children, the staff, the operational needs of the group home was put on hold.
>
> Researcher: "Usually you saw those as top priorities?"
>
> Supervisor: "Yes."
>
> Researcher: "Financial management was - "
>
> Supervisor: "Its not low. Its not the lowest by any means, but its not my only priority and all of a sudden the only priority was to live with in our budget. So that's how I saw it" (P: 2).

Another supervisor spoke in even stronger terms.

> "Its in complete opposition. It has cut down time for staff members to work on IPP's [Individual Program Plans], which is in complete opposition to developing IPP's which is one of the goals. It is ridiculous! (A: 29)

> ... I want CLS as an organization to keep up their and to stick to its goals, rather than shooting out in different directions - because the goals are good (A: 32)".

The Program Consultant for Children's Services and the Program Specialist for Adult Services scanned primarily the professional and academic environments, although the Children's Services consultant also kept in touch with a number of the parents. For example, he was working with a group of four parents to help them form into a society and apply for funding to establish a four-bed group home for their children.

Both Consultants continually reviewed the literature and the university environment for new processes and techniques which would aid the development of this target population. Internally, they each scanned seven group homes, making themselves available to the front line staff and supervisors for case consultations and staff development sessions.

> Researcher: "O.K., could you describe the position, the tasks that you -"
>
> Consultant: "O.K., the principle responsibilities of my position are to ensure that every client in the agency has a comprehensive individual program plan, and that that meets all the standards that are in place for the individual program plans.
>
> Along with that, I've been responsible for establishing what those standards are and the process for individual program planning because none exists within the provincial government and there is no standard one that exists in law in Canada at all. So we pretty well had to start from scratch and develop our standards based on legal requirements in the States.
>
> I've done staff development in order to teach that process. So I taught things to do directly with individual program plans. Then, more specifically, things to do with working with families, doing assessments, setting goals and objectives, running

> teaching programs and evaluating the whole system and monitoring it as it goes on" (D: 19).

Organization Structure

All of the group home supervisors reported that their jobs consisted mainly of supervising of the group home staff, monitoring and initiating expenditures of the fiscal resources in their budget, recruiting and scheduling staff, coordinating activities within their group home and between the group home and the organizational headquarters, and the performing their administrative tasks (e.g. statistical and budgetary reports, confirming number of hours worked per staff for payroll, etc.).

With the advent of the fiscal restraints, each of the fourteen supervisors were requested by their program directors to work fifty shifts from January to March to save about forty-five hundred dollars ($4,500.00) per home in manpower costs. Each of the supervisors worked at least their fifty shifts - with several working more (depending on the state of their particular budget and the needs of their residents). With the reduced staffing complement, the supervisors were expected to continue to work one to two shifts per week. One of the major results of the fiscal restraint, therefore, was that supervisors spent much more time in the group homes than they had previously. Most of this time was spent in direct care, however, resulting in a decline in the number of formal supervisory sessions. For example:

> Researcher: "What impact has the fiscal restraint had on your job?"
>
> Supervisor: "Well, for the past - I guess since mid December, when

we really began to reduce our costs, it's been difficult because a lot of supervisors had to start working front line again."

Researcher: "Did you?"

Supervisor: "Yep, I did as well. And it was difficult for us to maintain the supervision, the quality of supervision that we could provide because I tried to establish my hours -- before that, I tried to establish my hours so I could see almost everybody at all times. But when I started working, say day shifts, I was finished at three. And unless I chose to stay around, I'd be gone by three. And as a result, I lost communication with other front line staff. So in a way, it was more difficult for me to watch over each individual. I worked really closely with those people I was working with on shift, but not as closely with all of the other people" (M: 2).

The impact of the fiscal restraints was seen by most supervisors as both positive and negative. The following excerpts were typical of this response:

Researcher: "What impact did that have on the clients, do you think? or on your services to them?"

Supervisor: "Well, both positive and negative. Positive for me in the sense that I was able to be with the clients more and get to know more about them and probably see the little frustrations that the staff might have in terms of how can we do this with this client to make it better.

But in a negative way, I really feel that they need me there to guide them. ... I think the staff need me to be more flexible then working a straight shift here and there. Because I might be working a shift and then I'd be out on a dental appointment, you know, with that client. Or I might be out taking the client to the hospital or delivering to [sheltered workshop], and its started to impact the other areas of my job ... I became more like a front line staff. (M: 2-3)."

Supervisor: "Well, in one sense it's been good. Its made us a little bit more conscientious about how we deploy our manpower, that's where the bulk of our costs are. In our particular case, in our group home, that's something we've always been conscientious about.

> I guess that's a value that I subscribe to - that it's tax payers money and we're not frivolous with it. But even more so now, to the point where now you have to constantly be aware that you're riding the edge a little closer sometimes in terms of how many people [staff] you're putting in place at a certain time to ensure the safety and security of the place - let alone the client developmental objectives. ...
>
> It causes quite a strain with us. But it can cause quite a strain in any situation. ... I mean, if you have a two-person lift in the back and you've got a third person out front, you've got people at risk right then and there. You've got people without supervision. So that's a fair strain on the staff members involved. (N: 2)."

> Supervisor: "Well, if you go in and say, 'gee, we've lost all these staff and its terrible. We won't be able to do any more programming now and we're just going to have to do basic self-help care', that may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. ... I still think you'll be able to do programming. It's just that it may be more informal programming.
>
> It depends to which programming it is. If your doing feeding programs, toileting programs - those types of programs are built right in to the daily activity. If you've got to feed a client. The time difference in feeding a client with no program and feeding a client with a program in terms of implementing the program, is very small. The data sheets are designed so that you're not utilizing a lot of time. However, the problem occurs when you have to allow the worker the time to develop new feeding programs - for modification, the data analysis, the decision points that have to made with that" (O: 2).

The fourteen supervisors were integrated into two units of seven group homes. Both Adult Services Unit and the Children's Services Unit held weekly unit meetings - although these were postponed many times during the three month short term crisis period since supervisors could not leave the group home.

The mission of the organization was implemented through a 'professional' service delivered via the group homes. The homes were organically structured in order to enable the client to develop in as normal an environment as possible. After the fiscal restraints were initiated, the supervisors reassigned some tasks among their staff to compensate for the loss of one theraputic assistant in the adult homes and the reduction to half time of the full time house parent in all of the homes. The staff and the supervisors were expected to do what they saw had to be done to maintain the home on a day-to-day basis. Thus some supervisors took on direct care, housekeeping and cooking responsibilities as they were required.

It thus appeared that most of the actual impact of the fiscal restraint occurred at the supervisory and operational staff levels. Almost all of the supervisors worked extra hours to take up this slack in order to minimize the impact on the clients. The following excerpt is a typical example of how supervisors endeavor to deal with this dilemma.

> Researcher: "What impact has the fiscal restraint had on client care?"
>
> Supervisor: "Well, frustration from the staff."
>
> Researcher: "In what way?"
>
> Supervisor: Just seeing how much money we have in certain areas of the budget, travel for one area. We only have about forty-two hundred dollars for the whole year. The past year we had sixty-three hundred and we still went in deficit."
>
> Researcher: "Travel for what?"
>
> Supervisor: "For client outings, appointments ... . So its affecting the clients in that way because any time they [staff] want to take someone on an outing, they have to check with me first to see where it is, ...
>
> One of the clients wanted to -- the parents wanted him to go home for Easter weekend but they couldn't arrange transportation. They wanted us to pay for transportation. ... I just said, I can't. I can't

spend four hundred dollars on one and not equally amongst the others. So as it turned out, he didn't go home. And so its affecting them [clients] to a certain degree.

Researcher: "What about the stress levels in terms of the staff?"

Supervisor: "Well, right now with so many people [staff] gone in the group home - [name of staff person] had two key clients. Who's going to pick up their IPP's, it's going to be me. And I already have a key client as well. ... So I'm going to have three key clients. As well as working the shifts, as well as doing supervisions, as well as doing my ordinary supervisory job. So you know, I'm a little frazzled."

Researcher: "Have you had to give up then?"

Supervisor: "I haven't skimmed off anything."

Researcher: "You haven't? What about your administrative responsibilities?"

Supervisor: "I still maintain those. The only thing that we've given up is photocopying materials, and finance has picked that up. Well, whoopty do! It doesn't take long to stand up and photocopy.

But as far as doing supervisions, I haven't really sat down since about February and actually did like a formal session. Its all when I'm working with the person, because I am working the shifts. Its all informal. Once the clients go off to school, I say 'lets see your IPP and lets see what you've done.'

I used to try and set two hours aside and meet with the staff on a monthly basis. One to review their IPP and then one just 'o.k. I've noticed that you've been doing this' - staff performance things. And these things haven't been able to happen because I've been working these shifts. The staff leaves and I come in the door. And vice versa. So that has fallen back.

But all the other administrative duties are still there. Budgeting responsibilities, going to schools, school meetings, and meeting with CPD, unit meetings - it just seems to take a little bit longer to get some of the things done because I'm doing so much front line" (K: 5-6).

Human Resource Management

All the supervisors were graduates from community colleges or had an undergraduate degree in behavioral analysis. They also had demonstrated a superior ability to provide direct care and programs to these clients. All but one supervisor had started in a C.L.S. group home and had been promoted from within the organization.

In Children's Services, each supervisor was evaluated on formally stated goals and objectives that were based on their job describtion and their own professional development goals. These objectives were agreed to in writing on an annual basis and were reviewed quarterly with the program director. As well, each supervisor met monthly with CPD to discuss his or her progress and/or specific concerns in the home.

In Adult Services, the quarterly reviews did not occur on a formal basis as regularly as they occurred in the Children's Services Unit. The supervision sessions were also up to the initiative of the supervisor more in the Adult Services Unit. All supervisors however felt free to contact either of their program directors whenever issues arose.

All of the supervisors perceived a misalignment within the technical system. Their perception of this misalignment was the placing of the fiscal needs of the organization above the needs of the clients. They perceived that ED in particular had ignored the mission statement when considering options to meet the new fiscal objective. "... I don't think a lot of [his] statements could be made if you were in agreement with the mission statement. I don't think you could say things like, 'we'll just provide attendant care and thats good enough'" (B: 41). In fact many viewed ED as perceiving the formulation of the mission statement as merely another administrative task. "Its a task that's done and put away in most cases" (Ibid.).

The following passage was typical of this response.

> Researcher: "Do you think that there are some incongruencies or inconsistencies between what the mission statement says now and the changes that have been brought about because of the fiscal restraining?"
>
> Supervisor: "Yes. Because like I said, a lot of group homes I know have pretty much given up on a lot of their client development. Not given up, but I mean, its pushed back quite a bit. ...
>
> I don't know all the different situations, but I think a lot of people gave up too easy. Its like saying, 'well, we just don't have the staff for that anymore. We're just not going to do it anymore'. Because some people don't see everyone in the agency as totally committed to the mission statement. Probably most people don't know what it is ... '" (B: 42-43).

The Political System

Mission and Strategy

On the whole, all fourteen supervisors felt that though they had some input into the formulation of the mission statement, that it was up to the strategic managers and, in particular, the director to formulate the mission statement. There was a shared view that ED's request for the input was more 'for show' then out of a genuine interest. They generally perceived him as already having made up his mind before requesting their input on strategic decisions. They expressed some frustration over this, stating that they felt he should focus more on their input rather than focusing almost solely on RM and the bureaucratic pressures.

In terms of the formulation of the mission and goals for the units, there was a difference between the supervisors in Children's Services Unit and those in the Adult Services. Those in the Children's Services unit perceived that they had a great deal of influence in the formulation of the unit mission and goals. They had previously developed a unit mission statement based on the agency mission and had developed three annual goals for the unit. They then had communicated this mission and the goals to their group home staff in order to design a work plan to achieve them, since all the goals were client oriented.

The supervisors and the frontline staff, then, had developed expectations that they were there to help the residents develop to the maximum of their potential within a community environment. The supervisors were influenced by the program directors, their peers and their staff. While resources were plentiful, they appeared to have developed 'buffer zones' between the client oriented functions and the administrative duties. For example, they spent most of their time in their offices at the headquarters rather than at the group homes. Although they consulted with their staff on cases, and usually pitched in when required, the vast majority of the client centered tasks were implemented by the operational level staff.

The advent of the fiscal restraint and the resulting reduction in manpower resources with no reduction in either the number of clients to be served or the time in which they required attention, resulted in a reduction in these 'buffer zones'. Managing the group homes now required an emphasis on fiscal as well as client responsibilities. The misalignment which may have existed between means-oriented administrators (i.e., ED and BM) and the client-oriented personnel, became more manifest. For example:

Supervisor: "I just thought we were supposed to be supplying a home environment and teaching, you know, like helping people to live better lives."

Researcher: "Who influences you in what you do and the way you do your job? For example, who influences how you priorize your work?"

Supervisor: I guess I would start with CPD and [program consultant]. Then there are my peers in ~~the~~ unit meetings. My staff and their moods and concerns. And I guess just my own past experience."

Researcher: "Has the fiscal restraint changed any of that?"

Supervisor: "Well, I think its changed because we now get memos that have to be done by a certain date and stuff. I think as far as my priorities go, it hasn't changed but you have to get those things done."

Researcher: "So who is influencing you? is the administration influencing you more with the business end of things? ED?"

Supervisor: "Yea: And I think the region too. [they] went for short periods of time ~~and~~ when they started all this nonsense. It was November 19, or what ever, we had to stop everything. Like the budget was the priority and 'where were we going to cut this and that'. You know, so anytime we got a phone call then we were gathered together."

Researcher: "So you all participated?"

Supervisor: "I think that we were all present and that we even participated."

Researcher: "I'm not sure what you mean by that."

> Supervisor: "Well, you're saying that we all participated as a group but I think we were there as a group but we didn't all participate" (L: 10-11).

The supervisors in the Adult Services Unit had been given a copy of the mission statement as an information item. There was no planned process at the unit level to help them develop goals and integrate them into the group home. Many of the Adult Service supervisors described their meetings as a means to receive information for example:

> "He [APD] doesn't have strong unit meetings. We don't really build at unit meetings. I mean, its more information sharing, 'this is the way it is, and these are the new changes'. But as far as sitting down, working something out, and discussing it and setting goals for the unit, I would say not really [participatory]. It just seems like he passes information down [to us]" (M: 9).

Organization Structure

All of the supervisors had the authority to supervise and evaluate their staff. They were also responsible for the initiation of expenditures - as long as these expenditures fell within their allotted budget. With the advent of the fiscal restraints their requests to spend their budgets were scrutinized much more closely, both their program directors and ED. Even the 'direct purchase orders' for food had to be reviewed and authorized by the Executive Director - though they were in the long run told that their autonomy over their budget would be increased. The supervisors noted that even though they were told by both ED and RM that they as supervisors would know best how to realize the most efficient and effective use of their budgets in relation to clients needs, they were continually excluded from the specific cutback discussions which took place in the region and at the strategic managerial level.

As one supervisor summarized:

> Supervisor: "O.k., we'll start at the top. Administrative decisions -- the major decisions, like budgetary, are made, I believe, by RM. He is a great influence and then passes it on to ED. Who then with BM works out a budget for all of the group homes - which we're usually consulted about - how much money we feel we need except in open orders. This year we were allowed to say how much we wanted in open orders [i.e., food]. And then it's past down to us that this is for what ever" (J: 4-5).

All of the supervisors acknowledged that they were primarily handed their budgets and told to manage within them. It was up to them to figure out how, as they dealt with the various staff and client crises which occurred on a day-to-day basis (e.g. staff and client illnesses, staff development, cut backs in public transportation, and so on). Although most supervisors exchanged information informally among each other, there was a definite perception by the vast majority of supervisors that formally, they were to conduct their business within the confines of their own unit. As one supervisor stipulated:

> "... When I first started in Adult Services, I crossed the boundary. APD has strong rules about Children's Services and Adult Services, and that's very hard for me to do - to use him as my only resource person, because I think the more people that can help you, the stronger your agency. Thats just my philosophy. I believe you should be working together and if that person doesn't have information - go to APD first, but he didn't really have the information, so I had to keep pushing and pushing until someone did. And he always resisted me using other people outside of Adult Services to gain information. Because he strongly believes Adult Services is separate from Children's. ... It's his own personal belief ... it's always been hard for me to understand" (M: 4).

A number of the supervisors who have been with the organization for a long time and had experienced other minor cutbacks and changes, noted one particular difference during these cutbacks. This time there appeared to be less of a tendency to listen to those who objected to the cutbacks or offered alternative suggestions.

> Researcher: "How about the fiscal restraint issue? The role that the parents played here -- you're laughing, -- "
>
> Supervisor: "Well, its so funny the way things have changed. What has happened now, - and again its from the top, at that point in 1982, 83 or whenever it was, 84, the parents had a significant amount of power because fiscal restraint was an issue at the time and people were willing to play the political games or respond to political pressures.
>
> At this point in time, because of the budget pressures that are being exerted from cabinet on all the ministries from what I understand - "
>
> Researcher: "So its more of an economic crisis, as opposed to - "
>
> Supervisor: "No, no. Its more of a situation where the people who are making decisions about fiscal change know they're going to be backed up at the upper echelons and are more willing to stand by whatever decision they make at this point. So a parent could run to the newspaper, a parent could phone the Minister and bitch, but this person isn't so worried about a red docket [a file from the Minister, requiring urgent attention] going up or down or anything like that, because they know that what they've done is along the lines of what cabinet wants with the fiscal responsibility.
>
> And to me that's the basic change that we see right now. What we have now, occurred in 1982 when the Government was a lot more responsive, or an election year maybe for that matter, a lot more responsive to issues, then maybe there wouldn't have been fiscal restraint this year. I don't know" (N: 17-18).

Human Resource Management

Both program directors established the individual appraisal criteria for each of their supervisors in conjunction with that supervisor. The supervisors were evaluated on an annual basis using a five point scale -

ranging from an unsatisfactory rating of 'one' to a rating of 'five' for exceeding job expectations in all areas. The normal rating for fulfilling all job requirements was 'three'.

The supervisors in both units were split in terms of the perceived fairness of their own ratings. Most supervisors felt the ratings were fair and objective. A number of supervisors in both units however, felt that some of the ratings reflected favoritism by the program directors.

In general however, those supervisors in the Children's Services unit felt that CPD had a good understanding of the level of their performance through their regular supervision sessions, written reports, participation at meetings and her visits to the group homes. Those supervisors in Adult services were more polarized. Several felt that APD had a good understanding of their level of performance via his meetings with them, his visits to their homes, their participation at their unit meetings, and their written work. Others felt that he basically relied on their own self evaluations and reports to him as to the degree of their success. For example:

> "No, APD doesn't talk to my staff. Well, he sees my performance in writing staff evaluation I guess. It's detailed. He also sees the reports I hand in ... He sees, I guess, how I communicate with others - my co-workers and people at the office. He's seen how I communicate with my staff. He sat in a meeting. Or if staff just come here or whatever during some courses. ...
>
> I guess really no news is good news. No one's called him, I guess, is one way to look at it. He mostly evaluates me on what I accomplish that he sees, I guess, and that wouldn't be, I guess, staff supervision" (J: 12).

After the introduction of the fiscal restraints, all supervisors felt that they were not able to achieve all of their goals because they no longer had the resources to do so. Their attention to fiscal responsibilities superceded their original goals which were primarily client oriented.

> "I had very general goals in my EPA's [Employee Performance Appraisals], but one thing that I was hoping to focus, like 90% of my job was to develop and implement the IPP's for each client.
>
> The fiscal restraint has not allowed me to do that. We were moving along at a really good pace, but had to slow down. I had too many vacancies - staff were getting over worked, and I just sought of loosened the reigns a little bit to give them some breathing space.
>
> But thats a major thing ... the IPP is a basic organized way of the client's life and future goals and dates set, and we haven't been able to do it. ..."
>
> Researcher: "And you're still moving, but on a slower basis?"
>
> Supervisor: "We have stopped."
>
> Researcher: "Oh, you've stopped it entirely?"
>
> Supervisor: "Yeah."
>
> Researcher: "You've stopped it entirely and replaced it with what?"
>
> Supervisor: "Well, right now there's two of my clients that need behavioral programs, so that was amended on an ongoing basis, but we're just maintaining it. Basically doing informal programs like we were doing before. ..." (J: 12-13).

The supervisors speculated that those who would be able to manage both their staff and parental concerns as well as stay within the reduced budget would be given the best ratings.

All of the supervisors perceived that promotion of those staffed in the group home depended on the degree to which the staff demonstrated their expertise and knowledge. Most of the supervisors themselves did not wish to advance to the program director level. They preferred the more client oriented rewards of the group home than what they perceived to be the more abstract outcomes of the program director's positions. They did however view that position as more political and administrative than client oriented. As one supervisor stated:

Supervisor:	"Well, that would be ED interviewing [to fill a Program Director's position]. Well, I truly believe it would probably be how well you know him and how much he respects you as a person. Because he doesn't know a lot about any of us and so he probably knows some people better than others just through talking to them more frequently. But I don't know. That's a hard one. He wouldn't have a lot to go on."
Researcher:	"But would he focus on your ability to -"
Supervisor:	"Budgeting."
Researcher:	"That's what I was going to ask."
Supervisor:	"That's what it would be."
Researcher:	"Budgeting as opposed to client focus?"
Supervisor:	"Yep. Definitely. You'd have to be able to stop worrying about the programming and clients' lives and start looking at budgeting. If you can stay within your budget then you're in there. If you show any great knowledge in that area, you're a pretty strong candidate."
Researcher:	"O.k., how about [a competition] for ED's position?"
Supervisor:	"If you can say 'yes' to RM, you're in. I don't think ED has a lot of backbone and I think that RM really pushes him."
Researcher:	"Who runs this agency?"
Supervisor:	"RM does" (M: 30).

The above quote also typified major feelings regarding promotion to the Executive Director position of the organization. Most of the supervisors perceived ED at worst, as a lacky for the region, and for RM in particular. At best, they viewed him as an a administratively oriented professional who did not understand the realities of the group homes and thus did not understand fully the consequences and the effects of his decisions. They therefore did not express much interest in being promoted to that position.

The Cultural System

Mission/Strategy

All supervisors viewed the organization as a means to achieve client development in a community setting. They expressed a great amount of frustration when they viewed the bureaucratic efficiency values receiving more priority than their professional client oriented ones. They perceived the increase in the importance of efficiency as decreasing the importance of effectiveness and expressed concern that clients now seemed to become the means for economic efficiency rather than the ultimate purpose of the organization's services. Many of the supervisors felt that this reversal of means and ends compromised the values underlying the mission statement. For example:

> Researcher: "That's your mission statement, but what belief is that based upon?"
>
> Supervisor: "O.k., that would be that everyone has a right to life, to live to their fullest potential - meaning in all areas of life. Everyone should have emotional support, be able to go into the community, to participate in activities, to have someone care about them.
>
> An effect of the fiscal restraint is that sometimes due to a shortage of dollars, we're not able to maximize, or to help the client to lead as full a life as possible because we have a staff shortage where the

> clients can't go out on outing or a staff shortage when all the programs to help them develop can be carried out" (J: 32).

Organization Structure

With a few exceptions most of the supervisors demonstrated organic managerial styles. They generally worked with their staff to identify client problems and develop alternative solutions. This was based on an underlying value that those working most directly with the client in the group home would know best that client's capabilities and the programs and techniques which would work with him or her. The response of this supervisor was quite typical:

Researcher: "Could you give me examples of things that they [staff] do influence you on and the things that they don't?"

Supervisor: "O.k., things that they could influence me on, like right now when we're looking at our new scheduling, are relocating some of our houseparent duties. As to who I may reallocate those duties to, I will definitely ask their input because it deals directly with them.

But if it came to something at the office that in essence they had nothing really to do with or did not care to even no about, I wouldn't even bring it out and ask them for unnecessary feedback. ..."

Researcher: "O.k., so what I'm picking up from you then is the principle you use is that if it affects them, you try and get them involved. If it doesn't, you don't. What effect has the fiscal restraint had on that, if any?"

Supervisor: "It's actually made that stronger."

Researcher: "In what way?

Supervisor: "Because I've kept the staff up-to-date always on the fiscal restraint and exactly what I've been expected to do because that also reflects back on them. If they have to cover shifts, then they need to know that we have to save money ..." (I: 5).

Differing and even conflicting perspectives regarding the clients were tolerated and even encouraged in most of the homes. The supervisors justified this approach with the rationale that only by providing a healthy debating environment could the best interests of each of the clients be served. As one supervisor noted:

> "I listened to my staff. I listened to them very carefully. Its funny, I have quite a mixed group of individuals - as is the case in most places. And I don't take the silence at staff meetings as an indication from them of approval of anything. I'm saying, I usually head to them, go individually with each one of them, and even at sometimes play kind of a devil's advocate role and pry their opinions and attitudes out of them.
>
> But in the end I really see that if they don't have six of seven or eight people at the front line level who are satisfied and reasonably happy at their job, then you have seven clients who are in the end going to suffer. And not perhaps even any kind of obvious impact on them, but certainly, you know there's impact. Its tough - tough, tough, tough job to work at the group home front line." (E: 15).

All of the supervisors believed that the parents or legal guardians, and not the staff had the ultimate say regarding the client's program. Each client had a 'core team', which was comprised of the significant professionals and persons involved with that client.

All supervisors stated that the parents or legal guardians were not only members of that team but were the only ones who possessed the authority in terms of consenting to the client's program. If the parents did not wish something to be part of their child's program, and could not be convinced by the others on the core team, then that item was dropped from the client's program. Although most of the time parents listened to and were persuaded by the arguments of the core team members, many times their values were different from those of the professionals. As observed by one supervisor:

> "Well to be honest, parents want the permanency. They want the security that nothing is going to happen to their child and they're not going to be thrown out onto the street. They want their children to develop. They wanted their life with their children. They want them to be safe, emotionally secure, and [undergoing a] developing process." (P: 21).

As noted by another supervisor, different parents advocated for different programs and services for their children.

> "They [parents] have different priorities in terms of what's important in their own child's life. One parent, for example sees a day program as being most important and not any kind of technical expertise on the part of the staff. You know, so either an educational or vocational type setting. So that's their priority, and in terms of cutbacks, I guess their only concern would be that if their child comes out of school next year, do they have a place to go during the day. ...
>
> Then I have another parent on the other hand, whose daughter just finished school last June, was with the public school board for five years and their general consensus on the five years was, 'I guess it didn't harm her'. So their concern is the complete opposite. They don't care about a day program or any kind of technical, educational or vocational experience for their son or daughter. [Their only question is] 'are they fed, comfortable?' Life style is not even an issue with them" (E: 7).

All of the supervisors interviewed perceived ED's managerial style as primarily non-participatory. Although a number of them sympathized with the difficulties created by his link-pin position (i.e., representing the agency in the region and the region in the agency), the vast majority of supervisors perceived his efforts at a participatory style of management as either a sham or superficial. As one supervisor stated:

> Supervisor: "ED from day one has never really taken a participatory style of management."
>
> Researcher: "Do you think he sees himself as taking one, though?"
>
> Supervisor: "Maybe in his own way. Maybe he thinks he may be trying to, but he may think just because we're having a meeting and we're all talking together, that's

participatory. But it's not unless decisions that we all make have some impact on the final decision."

Researcher: "And you don't see that as occurring?"

Supervisor: "No. But, you know, I can understand his problems to. I can understand someone breathing down his neck saying, 'we have to do this and do that and this.' [i.e., RM]" (M: 31-32).

Those supervisors who had the experience of working under both CPD and APD acknowledged the difference in their managerial styles. On the whole however those managers in Children's Services expressed more feelings of coherence and belonging than did those in Adult Services.

Although both units had their 'loners' both units appeared to intergrate congruently the sub-cultures of the seven group homes for which they were responsible. This intergration was based primarily on a common set of professional values which emphasized the principle of normalization and the right of each client to develop to the maximum of his or her potential. Another intergrating norm consisted of the emphasis the supervisors placed on the familial values of the clients as expressed through the clients and guardians. These values were viewed as the ultimate source of legitimation and justification for the client programs. The sub-cultures of both units reinforced these value stances.

Human Resource Management

All of the supervisors had been through at least two years of education which emphasized the dignity of mentally handicapped individuals and their right to as normal a upbringing as possible. All of the supervisors appeared to have internalized these values. They also believed strongly that institutions stunted rather than developed client growth. These values were reinforced by their peers and the program directors during the unit meetings as they struggled through the various issues created by the fiscal restraints.

It was from this value base that the supervisors interpreted ED's comments as contradictory. As one supervisor noted:

> Supervisor: "He [ED] says that IPP's are important, programs are important. But then again, he says that as long as someone has a place to come to, has shelter to come to and friendly faces to come to, love is all you need. Those are the basic things and yet, IPP's are more than basic. It's self-actualization. ..."
>
> Researcher: "Do you think those values are shared at all levels of the organization?"
>
> Supervisor: "Its shared with the RP2's [supervisors]. I think it's shared with the front line, with the RP3's [program specialists and program consultant] and the managers. ...
>
> As far as ED is concerned, he does know the importance of it, yet he has also said that having a shelter to come to and room to come to, its good. As far as he's concerned, that's good enough . ... If that's all a person can get, then thats O.K. too, is what he's saying" (A: 28).

Almost all of the supervisors shared this perspective. They were suspicious of the values of the director, viewing him as more concerned of the wishes and needs of the bureaucracy than with the needs of the clients. They felt that his values therefore allowed him to justify the acceptance of the maintenance level care for the clients if thats all the budget would allow, rather than fighting for the resources to continue with the development and treatment of clients.

This misalignment between the values of the director and the professional staff was viewed by the supervisors as being a source of stress. The following response typified the feelings of the supervisors:

> "I'm feeling more tired, myself, right now. I really enjoyed working in this agency and I still do enjoy it, but I'm feeling less support and more pressure. Meaning that you've got the same expectations put on you as you had before, except now you have to work shifts in the group home, and it is really hard.
>
> It's also hard just on the shifts. You know, one day you might be working a day shift, the next day you work an evening shift and then you're at the office. And in between, of course, you're juggling other meetings or cancelling them as need be." (J: 8).

When these feelings of pressure were combined with a feeling of not being recognized, some of the supervisors started considering leaving the organization. This in itself created some cognitive dissonance. For example:

> Researcher: "You use your job description then, as your basic [performance appraisal] mark in terms of a 'three' - if you met your job description. Then if you feel that you've done more than your job, you argue for a higher rating?"
>
> Supervisor: "Yea. I've never argued, though, you know, because --. There's been years when I think I've deserved a lot more. And I've had things I've done that I knew surpassed many other people within my area, but I just figure I'm used to not getting the recognition so it doesn't matter."
>
> Researcher: "What do you get out of this job if your not getting recognized?"
>
> Supervisor: "Not a lot. Not a lot."
>
> Researcher: "But you're doing it, you're continuing. Why?"
>
> Supervisor: "Just waiting for something else to come along - no. Before it was - I mean, I truly do enjoy what I do. Like I - I have strong commitment to these clients.
>
> And I know the day I leave is going to be a crusher for me because I really do care about them. And I do

see people around me, and it scares me because we have been a lot of people who are having a hard time. It's been a lot of stress and strain. A lot of people are looking for a way out."

Researcher: "What scares you about that?"

Supervisor: "Because I feel that we might be left with people who truly don't have the same philosophy that we used to have, the one that gave the clients the best life possible.

And it's almost like the stronger ones are leaving and maybe the weaker supervisors - not saying that - they may be strong in their skills, but maybe they're weaker in that they listen to everything that's told to them and they're not interested in a participatory style of management. Then they will just say, 'yes, yes, yes, no.' Mostly 'yes' to whatever anyone says. And I don't believe you can do that all the time. I really believe sometimes you have to say, 'no, lets talk about it and try and see - maybe there's another way. Lets not get too radical'" (M: 22).

In summary, the supervisors viewed misalignment in all three systems. Within the technical system, they expressed concerns regarding the effect of redistributing the houseparent tasks among the frontline staff. They were also concerned about the effect of their resumption of direct-care duties in addition to their current managerial, supervisory and administrative responsibilities. They expressed concern regarding how decisions were made in the organization - particularly any decisions that they perceived ED made regarding where and how the fiscal and manpower resources were reduced. Although they viewed ED as primarily representing the region in the organization (rather than visa versa), most of the supervisors also perceived the program directors as also not fighting hard enough for consideration of their input in the decision making process - although some did acknowledge that this time the bureaucrates appeared to feel they could take a much stronger stance than in previous budget cutback attempts since they felt they had the backing of the minister.

The supervisors on the whole, would have preferred more cuts in the strategic managerial administrative areas, or the reductions on a more idiosyncratic base - i.e., allowing each group home supervisor to work out with his own staff where to make the cuts in their own group home. They viewed RM as pressuring ED to develop an easy and uniform way of achieving the fiscal reduction objective rather than the more decentralized approach.

The supervisor therefore perceived that the balance of power was swinging strongly over to those who espouse more means-oriented values. This misalignment in the culture of the organization created uncertainty among the supervisors. They perceived ED as being willing to tolerate custodial care if need be. This shot as the heart of their belief in normalization and deinstitutionalization. From their perspective, this would result in the reinstitutionalization of these clients - something that they had spent years trying to undo.

There appeared to be misalignment between the systems as well. The values and principles, as formerly stated in the mission statement document, were all client focused. These were reinforced by the subcultures which existed both in the group homes as well as in the program service units. The supervisors viewed the cuts as affecting the quality of services to the clients. They therefore viewed this as incongruent with the stated mission.

They perceived the organizational decision making mechanism, therefore as more bureaucratic (i.e., mechanistic) than could be justified and legitimated via the cultural system. This misalignment appeared as a rift in expectations between the supervisors and the 'means-oriented' professionals to be the major variable underlying the supervisors' concerns that the changes in the technical system might resort in the organization reverting to a custodial and institutional rather than developmental model of care in the long run.

The anxiety and uncertainty created by this misalignment, in addition to the stress created by the extra work and low staff moral in the group homes, resulted in the number of supervisors undergoing symptoms of stress (e.g. tiredness, "being frazzled", etc.) - to the point where some were starting to look for other employment. This in turn, placed them in the dilemma of 'abandoning' rather than remaining and continuing to advocate for their clients.

CHAPTER 9

THE OPERATIONAL STAFF

The operational level of the organization consisted of the rehabilitation practitioners (RP1), therapeutic assistants (TA), institutional attendants (IA), the houseparents, and the wage personnel. Of the thirty-four (34) persons from this level that were interviewed, thirteen (13) were interviewed individually (representing all of the positions mentioned above), the rest were interviewed either in pairs or in group which ranged from three (3) to eight (8) members. The researcher left it up to the staff themselves to decide how, where, and in what numbers they wanted to be interviewed.

The Operational Level

Prior to the fiscal cutbacks, C.L.S. operated with two staffing models at the operational level. The children's model consisted of nine persons reporting to the group home supervisor. Three Rehabilitation Practitioner ones (RP1), three Therapy Assistants (TA), one full time and one half time Institutional Attendant (IA) as night staff, one full time and a half time houseparent. Each children's home then consisted of nine operational level staff and the group home supervisor. The adult homes had an extra Therapy Assistant (four instead of three) to help with the lifting. The adult homes therefore, consisted of one group home supervisor and ten operational level staff.

After the fiscal reductions, the extra Therapy Assistant position from Adult Services was removed. The full time house parent was reduced to half time and the money used to hire a wage person to increase the flexibility of the man-power resources. This extra person was available to help during the high activity periods when the residents were getting up and going to bed.

The Technical System

Mission/Strategy

The vast majority of the operational level staff perceived the mission of the organization as focusing on the development and care of the clients within a community setting. For example, the following response was quite typical:

Researcher:	"What is the mission statement for C.L.S. in your own words?"
Staff:	"... As I see it, it is to promote the independence and self-enhancement of dependent handicapped client within the community for the purposes of demonstrating to the community that these are valuable and worth while people to society" (O-A: 17).

A number of staff however, appeared somewhat confused after having dealt with the impact of the fiscal restraint. For example:

Researcher:	"What is the missions statement for C.L.S.?"
Staff:	"O.k. I believe the mission statement is - o.k. to stay within the budget, to ensure that we have quality care for the clients, which would be number one - "
Researcher:	"Which is number one, staying within budget?"
Staff:	"No, the clients - the quality of care for the

clients. Thats number one, and then staying within the budget. [Also, to] adhere to the Master Agreement."

Researcher: "O.k., so the purpose of C.L.S. as an organization is to what?"

Staff: "Well, it's the dignity and rights of the client. Well it's client care - to ensure the teaching of the individuals to the best of their abilities. Helping them to become as independent as possible. Normalization. And then, researching potential residential and vocational options."

Researcher: "To integrate them into the community?"

Staff: "Yep" (O-H: 25-26).

The environment scanned by the operational level staff consisted mainly of the parents or guardians, and the teachers or other professionals in the schools and workshops in which their clients attended sessions. The purpose of their context centered around the assessment of clients needs and the development, implementation and evaluation of programs.

All of the TA's and RP1's were assigned at least one 'key client'. They developed a 'core team' which usually consisted of the client's parents or guardians (if applicable), and those professionals working directly with the client at the school or sheltered workshop. The purpose of this team was to define the goals for that client and to approve and to coordinate the program and resources required to achieve those goals.

Most of the environmental input for the operational level staff, therefore, was channelled through the core team. All of the members of this team, and in particular, the 'key worker' from the group home continually scanned the environment for resources that would be of use to their particular key client.

Although some staff viewed the fiscal restraint as changing the priorities of the mission statement to require more of an emphasis on the monitoring and control of resources, most of the staff did not see the restraint as changing the mission statement. One group of four that were interviewed together, however, viewed the restraint as negatively affecting the possibility of moving clients into a less restrictive environment.

> Staff A: Actually with the fiscal restraints, a lot of what they [management] are really pushing us to do is, you know, in the C.L.S. five year plan. You know, like get all our clients out into the community."
>
> Staff B: "The fiscal restraints blew that."
>
> Staff A: "Yeah, it blew it!"
>
> Staff B: "Yeah, like they're asking us to put in all these proposals and everything to get them [clients] into a least restrictive environment and what not, and they're not really giving us any guidelines or anything to go by."
>
> Staff C: "They're just kind of saying 'do it', and there's not really the facilities out there."
>
> Staff A: "They want that to be our priority goal."
>
> Researcher: "What?"
>
> Staff A: "To breakup -"
>
> Staff B: "To have them [i.e., the clients] out of the group home and into the community. At least into a less restrictive environment - whether it be a four bedroom home or a two bedroom group home or, you know, with a foster family or what."
>
> Researcher: "But are those other facilities out there?"
>
> Staff A, B, C: "No."
>
> Staff D: "They want us to create them but they are not willing to give us the money - is what they seem to be doing" (O-F: 6).

The staff almost entirely perceived one strategy to meet these client needs - to utilize their own fiscal resources or the resources of those who felt a personal obligation to supply resources (e.g., parents and relatives). Only one of the group homes interviewed was actively exploring the possibility of utilizing volunteers to supplement the payed staff.

Organization Structure

All of the operational level staff within the group homes focused on the client. Although the R.P.1's had two years of community college education, their responsibilities were identical to the T.A.'s who had spent several years learning on the job. Both the R.P.1's and the T.A.'s were responsible for direct client care in the group homes. Their tasks included looking after the basic needs of all of the clients (e.g. dressing, feeding, toileting, shelter) during their shift, arranging and taking their own clients to dental and doctor appointments, assessing their client's needs, writing developmental programs, and meeting with parents and school representatives within the context of the client's core team. For example:

Researcher: "Could you describe your job to me?"

Staff: "My job is, in general, to care for the well being of seven dependently handicapped clients within a group home setting and a community setting."

Researcher: "Could you list the tasks that you have to do?"

Staff: "There are the custodial aspects and then there are the program aspects."

Researcher: "What are the custodial aspects?"

Staff: "Custodial aspects are the daily up-keep for each of those seven clients in terms of personal hygiene, in terms of making sure that they are fed and clothed; they're bathed. Just the basic human needs. Providing them with food, shelter clothing."

Researcher: "And the developmental tasks?"

Staff: "They are to carry out the programs or procedures as prescribed by each key worker."

Researcher: "So you are a key worker as well?"

Staff: "Yes, I am a key worker for two clients, but I'm also responsible for carrying out the programs and procedures for all the clients during my shift. So I write programs and procedures for my specific clients, but I'm responsible for implementing everybody's programs and procedures for all seven clients" (O-A: 1).

Those staff who are assigned key clients, developed a 'core team' consisting of those persons who were significant to the client.

Researcher: "And you work within a core team?"

Staff: "Right."

Researcher: "Who else is on that core team?"

Staff: "There is myself, the parent, the guardian, the teacher, and the social worker."

Researcher: "And what are the roles of the various people on the core team? What do they do basically?"

Staff: "All decisions made as to what happens with the client is basically a core team decision. Of course the parent or guardian decision is the final one. We work together on coming up with goals for the client."

Researcher: "How often do you meet?"

Staff: "We're supposed to meet monthly."

Researcher: "Are you really? The core team meets monthly?"

Staff: "Oh, I meet with the parents and teacher, the core team usually meets every four months" (O-P: 1).

The core team therefore, was the major goal setting and program monitoring unit for each client. Although the key worker had significant input into these decisions, it was clear that the final decision was up to the parent or guardian. This was to ensure that familial values and the parents concerns were used to guide decisions, as opposed to the individual or professional values of the key worker or the organizational or societal values of the other members of the core team (Christie, 1986).

The houseparents focused on planning the meal menus, shopping for food, housecleaning and laundry. Most staff, however, viewed the houseparents' much more than housekeepers. The operational level staff were almost unanimous in their concern regarding the managerial decision to reduce the fulltime houseparent to halftime.

Researcher: "Why do you think they got cut?"

Staff: "I guess the only thing I can think is because of the direct care of the clients, they just do things like cooking and cleaning. They're not important things, you know. They're very time consuming."

Researcher: "You're being sarcastic in terms of "not important", eh?"

Staff: "Yeah, because they are very important. Houseparents are very important persons in this home."

Researcher: "Are they important in all homes?"

Staff: "I hope so, but in this home our houseparents are very important. And I think, to, the clients know that the houseparents are there - like, the person who makes their food and everything. It's sort of a nice family, like a family. She's like the mother."

Researcher: "And so why did they cut her?"

Staff: "Good question! I guess they were trying to evaluate roles. I mean, here they cut a houseparent and then they figure we'll have two halftime houseparents.

Where they could have had one fulltime houseparent and we could have had a wage person on the weekend. You know, because they could get a little more informal on the weekend. But during the week, she plays a big role."

Researcher: "You mentioned you thought it was that they evaluated roles."

Staff: "Well, I think they looked at everybody and thought who was - who they considered to be the least important in the home."

Researcher: "Ah, based on their knowledge."

Staff: "Yeah, their knowledge who they felt - . I do not feel that we were consulted. - Well, we were, but we gave our feedback but I don't know where it went - out the window [I guess]" (O-H: 24).

The homes, therefore, functioned as organic integrated units with everyone working on a peer basis and endeavoring to run the homes in as normal a manner as possible. In most homes everyone pitched in when they saw something had to be done - eg. some houseparents helped with feeding, direct care staff and supervisors helped with the laundry, cooking, and bed making.

The bi-weekly staff meetings also resembled a family meeting with everyone providing input regarding the development and evaluation of client programs and general procedures of the home. This structure appeared to be quite congruent with organization's stated mission and strategy.

With the advent of the fiscal restraint, the supervisors were required to fill the shifts in the home that would otherwise require a wage person. The operational staff stated that this resulted in a lessening of the time they had to spend with their supervisor reviewing their developmental plans and goals. The reduction in manpower resources also resulted in a cut back in the number of outings for each of the clients since if one staff took a client out for an evening, that left only one or two staff in the group home to care for the other six.

In addition, once the full time houseparent was cut to half time the quality and timeliness of the meals started to vary due to the variation in the cooking skills of the staff. Since the orientation of the direct care staff was to focus on client development and care, the cleanliness of the homes were viewed as secondary, resulting in an apparent drop in the general state of neatness and cleanliness in some of the homes. One houseparent who was angry at being reduced to half time, felt that management should have looked at themselves first.

> Researcher: "Do you think that there was a better way that they [management] could have cut if they wanted to cut so much money out?"
>
> Houseparent: "Yes, they could. We don't need for each group home one supervisor. They had it before, they managed three group homes. And look how much pay they get! So if they cut the big supervisors, the big bosses, you know?
>
> I only get - last December they told me I got a raise and now I get yearly $21,000.00 so, look what the supervisors' got! They got a lot more.
>
> Do we need that APD, ED or RM? Those are three bosses, why are there three bosses when we only need one? ... That is a waste of money. We don't need those idiots there! They don't do nothing anyway."

In the vast majority of homes, the staff tried to make up for the lack of resources created by the fiscal reductions, by taking work home, or returning on their days off to help with special events (e.g. birthday parties, etc.). The staff in one of the homes interviewed, however, started to look for other resources.

Staff:	"... We've started to recruit volunteers. That's how we are going to use the resources to compensate for the staff shortage for recreation."
Researcher:	"So how are you finding out or getting information out in terms of the need for volunteers to the community?"
Staff:	"Through the Volunteer Action Centre. I've already got two volunteers started. [They] will be starting this month. Actually, a girl - we were lucky, a girl called her [someone at the Volunteer Action Center] and wanted to volunteer. So we called her up and interviewed her and everything. And then a staff's sister. But I'm going to be - just through friends. I've talked to a few friends who are willing to come in. And the Volunteer Action Center. Also, through the YWCA. They have the Leisure Program where they will recruit for you."
Researcher:	"What do you see the volunteers doing in your home?"
Staff:	"Our basic purpose for the volunteers is recreation. Is to [have them] come in and assist in the recreation for the clients."
Researcher:	"To take the clients out?"
Staff:	"Yeah, yeah. We participate in swimming every Thursday night. Shopping, or just staying in the group home and have a leisure activity. As opposed to the personal care type of - come in and do the basic routine of the group home staff. They're purpose would be to come in and assist with recreation" (O-C: 3-4).

Human Resource Management

The RP's were the highest paid of the operational level staff. The minimum requirement was the completion of the two year Rehabilitation Practitioner course offered at the community colleges throughout the province. Through their education and practicums, the RP1's developed the skills to assess the needs and design developmental programs for the mentally handicapped. The Therapy Assistants and Institutional Attendants needed only high school education. They initially focused on maintenance care and implementation of the programs designed by the others in the home until they, their peers and their supervisor felt they were competent to design client programs on their own.

The salary as well as the educational requirements were therefore seen as commensurate with the roles of the various staff positions.

> Researcher: "What's the difference between an IA and a TA and an RP1?"
>
> Staff: "An Institutional Aid is someone who can carry out programs but not design them. A TA can design them with supervision and assistance from an RP1 and the supervisor. RP1's can design with input from the supervisor. ...
>
> Your RP has to have a degree - a diploma or certificate - a two year certificate or diploma. A TA can have grade 12 plus working with the clients."
>
> Researcher: "Is there a number of months that they have to do?"
>
> Staff: "Yes. And then your IA1 can be grade 10 or above. And then [we have] what we call wage staff. They're generally on call they also do cover off positions if somebody, say, was on maternity leave or sick, they could be slotted in, say, for a few months" (O-M: 12).

The standards and processes for the client programs were developed by the Program Consultant and legitimized through the organization's policy on the Individual Program Plan (I.P.P.). Learning Theory technology was utilized to "look after" the clients.

> Researcher: "and by "looking after" them, do you mean - if each child has a program, they're the ones implementing the programs on all of the children?"
>
> Staff A: "Everybody involved, yes."
>
> Staff B: "And our programs run, if you have five schedules,

that kind of thing. So all of us have to implement, and like every two minutes there's a buzzer going off.

We have approximately eleven programs running right now in this home. We do not have time - with two people, we do not have time for one-to-one with any client."

Staff C: "Yeah, your lucky if you get time for twenty minutes."

Researcher: "So you've got reinforcements to give - "

Staff A: "You have toileting times going off, with seven at all different times. You've got feeding programs going on. You've got DRO programs like VI schedules, say, in approximately every - on the average of every seven minutes."

Researcher: "DRO is what?"

Staff A: "Its called 'Differential Reinforcement of the Other behavior. What you're doing is giving the client tons of reinforcement - hoping the negative will go away. Right? Like if you want to teach the boy not to sit down you encourage him to stand up. So it's a behavior that isn't concurrent with the other."

Staff B: "So the buzzer rings on an average of a 'V fifteen', so it could be every three minutes. You would have to go to that client get a positive reinforcement [such as] edible or a pat on the back, spend two minutes with him, meanwhile leaving one staff with six others. ..." (O-M: 13-14).

The I.P.P. policy required that each client have five developmental programs. All I.P.P's were reviewed by the supervisor and Program Consultant in Children's Services and the Program Specialist in the Adult Services unit. They also required the consent of the parent or guardian before they were implemented. The staff were evaluated in accordance to their compliance to these standards as well as the degree to which they cooperated in the home. The reductions in manpower resources resulting from the fiscal reductions put a strain on the achievement of the program goals. Most staff however, stated that their supervisors would take the new situation into consideration during their evaluation.

> Researcher: "Has the budget cutbacks had any effect on the criteria used to evaluate you?"
>
> Staff: "Well, yeah, I would think it would - it will."
>
> Researcher: "Because it will increase the amount of tasks you'll have to do now?"
>
> Staff: "Yeah, thats basically why. And at the same time, because we're to be evaluated on our performance and our achievement with the key client. And towards programming and teaching sessions, we're going to have so much less time to do that. Now that [will], you know, certainly affect the way that they evaluate your job.
>
> Unless it's actually a put down on your EPA's, well, you're responsible to do this and we expect less from you - like right now for the RP1's, they expect to have five programs each year for their key client. Which is not a lot, if you consider the amount of tasks that need to be taught.
>
> But I mean five programs considering all the tasks that need to be cut down, by steps, and from step one to which ever steps you need to do. So if they do cut down on the amount of programs and the amount of time you actually have to spend with the client and put it toward the houseparent duties, well, then, you know -"
>
> Researcher: "O.k., so that'll effect how your performance is evaluated" (O-D: 5).

In Children's Services, staff development occurred primarily on a case consultation basis with the Program Consultant. In Adult Services, the Program Specialist designed classroom seminars to update the skills of the frontline The reduction in fiscal resources resulted in the elimination of these staff development sessions. Only those sessions required by the regulations and standards of the department and government (e.g. first aid knowledge, proper lifting techniques, etc.) were continued.

Recruitment and orientation of staff in the group homes was conducted by the group home supervisor. There was very little movement of operational level staff between group homes. Prior to the fiscal restraint, the wage staff usually worked in more than one home and provided an operational level vehicle for exchange of information. With the advent of the restraints, the group home supervisors tended to protect their wage staff because of the hiring freeze. Thus the exchange between homes provided by the wage staff was reduced.

The Political System

Mission/Strategy

Many of the operational level staff stated that they hadn't really thought about what the mission of the organization was. However, when asked what they were trying to accomplish in the group home, all of the staff made statements that were in line with the formal mission statement. Many staff mentioned that their recent input into developing a group home mission statement as input into the mission and value statement seminar was the first time that they remembered contributing to the organization's mission statement. They were not sure, however, if management actually considered their input. For example:

Researcher: "Who formulates the mission and goals of the organization?"

Staff: "I know that ED has said, 'well, we'll get one staff from every group home and the supervisors to try to establish goals' and that sort of thing. So I'm not sure what - I'm not quite sure what happens after that."

Researcher: "O.k., so he gets your input. But do you actually make decisions?"

Staff: "Oh no. I wonder if he really does take our input into consideration when the government is telling him to do one thing and he gets from us to do another thing. So who's he going to listen to? ...

I think we should be involved. Myself, I think we should be involved in a decision of what it is because we're the ones that are doing it. And if we make the decisions than we should be committed to following it" (0-K: 17-18).

Organization Structure

All operational level staff interviewed, knew who their supervisor was and who their supervisor reported to. Those in Children's Services appeared to be somewhat more familiar with CPD and the program consultant than those in the Adult Services were regarding the corresponding positions. Almost none of the staff at this level had met the director except on what they felt was a superficial basis. Most had only seen the director once and many did not even know his name.

Except for the effect of the recent cutbacks, most of the operational staff did not know what the strategic managers did nor did they perceive a need for them. This was particularly apparent in the Adult Services. for example, while discussing the organization structure, the researcher received the following response,

Researcher: "O.k., who is above your supervisor then?"

Staff: "APD."

Researcher: "APD - what is his job?"

Staff: "Don't know."

Researcher: "You don't know at all? Has he been here?"

Staff: "... In three years I've seen him twice. It was for a staff meeting, and one it was for an openhouse dinner at Christmas - last Christmas actually."

Researcher: "So he is [name of supervisor]'s supervisor, but you don't know basically what he does?"

Staff: "Well you know the only thing that I have seen from him is authorizing - you know over [supervisors name]. Like [supervisor] will give us, 'O.K. we can do it but I still have to get APD's permission'. And then APD goes to somebody else or whatever. That is basically what happens" (O-E: 8).

This lack of knowledge regarding what the managers appeared to be related to the fact that they have not had many opportunities to talk with the staff. This led to feelings of mistrust.

Staff A: "Well I don't trust them [the managers]."

Researcher: "You don't trust them?"

Staff A: "I don't believe in them because I don't see them. I don't see what they do. We don't see what they do; they don't see what we do."

Staff B: "In the six years that I have been here I haven't seen a heck of a lot of improvement. I've seen a lot of changes, in fact its going down hill instead of better.

You know, when I started, money was plentiful and, hey, we could buy anything we wanted. And we did. We got six grand left in the bank and we've got to spend it within a month and we would.

Sometimes the kids got everything. And it was for the clients. We had taxi vouchers and we had vans. We could phone them up and say 'hey we want to go here'. And they would come and pick us up and off we'd go and the clients were happy. Staff was happy. Programs were smaller. And it was more for the happiness of the client than the comfort.

Now all of a sudden its shoving them to bed at 8:00pm so we can get the paper work done - because we have timelines they have to be done. It's more for what the paper work is and it's no more transportation, and no more staff development.

> So in the six years that I have been here it's going down hill. And I don't see any benefits for the clients at all. I don't see it at all - I think it's getting to be a real shabby organization" (O-L: 34).

This mistrust was particularly directed at ED who many of the staff perceived as having the power to decide the destiny of the organization and yet not understanding what really happened in the homes. In fact many viewed him as merely puppeting the wishes of the bureaucracy.

> Researcher: "How about with ED? Do you know what he would be involved in in terms of the regional management?"
>
> Staff: "Yeah"
>
> Researcher: "O.k., do you think it's participatory at that level?"
>
> Staff: "Oh, I would hope it would be but I just - you know, again, trust my own feelings - I think ED is more of a "yes" person because he's not really all that familiar still with the agency. ...
>
> I think a good example of how unaware he is with the agency is when we were having that big problem with transportation for a client ... . And yet Bob was saying 'oh no, we don't have any problem with transportation'.
>
> That just showed to me that he was very unaware of what the needs of our clients are."
>
> Researcher: "O.K., what are indications that he is a 'yes man'?"
>
> Staff: "Well, its just a feeling. Its just because of things like that, and him not really coming up to the group home, and I don't think he really knows what we're really all about."
>
> Researcher: "But who's he saying 'yes' to?"
>
> Staff: "RM I think RM tells him 'this is how it's going to be', and he says, 'O.K.'." (O-H: 23).

Others viewed him as appearing at the group home only when there was a problem. As one staff person stated, "we see ED when there's a crisis.

That's about the extent of it" (O-M: 17). However another staff person in that same home viewed him as more approachable.

Staff A: "He's sort of right in middle management. Smack in between the fiscal side and the employees' side. You can see ED at any time you want though, if you have a problem. The agency does prefer that we use the proper level: [supervisor] and CPD and then ED."

Researcher: "So he has an open door policy pretty well?"

Staff A: "Yes, he does."

Researcher: "But not many people use it because he's over there [at headquarters] and you guys don't get over there."

Staff A: "Well, common sense says you walk up the ladder instead of jumping up it" (O-M: 18).

Many of the group home staff suggested that he not only spend more time in the home but also get to know the homes by working one or two shifts a year in the group home.

Staff A: "... I mean he ED is administering us. He is administering this organization and that should be where he starts. He should know this organization, what it does and how."

Researcher: "How does he get to know that?"

Staff A: "Front line"

Researcher: "By coming and working a shift?"

Staff A: "Take a few shifts."

Staff B: "I don't know."

Staff C: "It would take more than one shift."

Staff B: "I think it would be pretty difficult for him to come in and actually work shifts, but I think there's definitely got to be more of a thing of giving us the opportunity to come and let everyone along the [organizational] line know exactly what we do. What night duties are all about. What being an IA is all about. What a typical day is like. What our jobs are like, our frustrations, our achievements, our happy times. They've got definitely know."

Staff C: "And the particular nature of the clientele we have. You know that it is a very expensive group of people to support in group homes."

Staff D: "He's not particularly approachable" (O-K: 19).

These concerns regarding management, however, were not of great concern to most of the group home staff on a day to day basis. Rather, they perceived their fellow workers and the core team members as having a major influence on them in the home. For example:

Researcher: "Who influences what you do and the way you do it? Do you work as a team together, or is it the supervisor, or are you on your own?"

Staff: "Mainly your partner, everybody works in teams of two. So that I would say your co-workers" (o-g: 3).

Researcher: "Who influences what you do in terms of your job and the way you do it?"

Staff: "I guess the opinion of all group home [staff]. Things that we decide at the staff meeting, we'll do."

Researcher: "So you work as a team quite a bit."

Staff: "Yeah. Sometimes it can be - the supervisor just makes a decision, and its really not something where anybody has input on --- we have to do it. Or it might go even above her. It might come from ED or somebody. But mostly we sort of decide at our staff meeting" (O-B: 3).

The major power issues of concern to the staff were the client focused issues that were being expressed by the parents or guardians, and the organizational and procedural issues being expressed by their supervisors.

Researcher: "How are decisions made on the core team?"

Staff: "Well, we're taught that the parent actually has the final say. But what we do try and do is write goals that the school, the home, and us agree on. So we always try and come up with a consensus. ... "

Researcher: "So do the parents still play a rather passive role than expected [i.e.,] you're getting paid to do your job and they want you to do it - as opposed to them being really involved with what happens - as if [the home] was part of their family?"

Staff: "In our group home, that's true" (0-B: 3).

Researcher: "Do the parents pretty well consent to whatever the key worker suggests?"

Staff: "We have to have all consents from the parents before we do anything."

Researcher: "So they technically have veto power, they can say 'no'."

Staff: "They have total power."

Researcher: "Do they really? O.K., but in practice do they just usually consent to what you're suggesting, the key worker?"

Staff: "Yes, usually, yes" (0-0: 10).

Therefore, although the staff acknowledged that the parents or guardians of their clients had the final say as to the developmental goals and programs for their children, in practice, many parents went along with the suggestions of the professionals.

After the reductions due to the fiscal restraint, the group home staff became accustomed to the supervisors spending more time in the homes. In fact, they appeared to develop an expectation that the supervisor would spend more times in the homes on client and home centered activities and issues instead of working out of their offices at the central headquarters.

Researcher: "What effect has the fiscal restraint had on who influences you in terms of the decisions that you have to make. In terms of what you do? Has the fiscal restraint changed that at all [such as] putting more emphasis on listening to parents or not listening to them or you supervisor or what ever?"

Staff: "Well probably to the supervisor because he is around more."

Researcher: "The supervisor is around more so she has more influence on what you do?"

Staff: "Yeah" (O-F: 6).

Human Resource Management

The IA's and TA's did not view themselves as being able to advance beyond their current jobs in the organization. For them advancement meant having to go back to school for two years. Most, however, were quite content with their jobs, "the kids, you know, make you feel like you're needed, and wanted, and it also makes you feel worthwhile that you are doing something worthwhile" (O-K: 12).

The RP1's perceived that their advancement to an RP2 (supervisor) position depended on two factors: 1) a demonstration of good client programing skills and knowledge, and 2) being perceived as a competent leader by an outgoing supervisor or unit director. A number of persons interpreted this latter point as a sign of favoritism, while others did not.

Researcher: "O.K., you've told me that the only way a TA can get ahead is to go back to school - from what you've said - because you need a degree or something."

Staff A: "I think that that kind of carries through all the levels depending on your degree when you come in."

Staff B: "Thats a real stickler because a lot of government agencies [state] 'yes, you have to go through proper channels and you have to apply for the positions and you have to have the educational requirement and experience requirement or what ever'.

Sometimes it has not happened exactly that way, but I mean there's nobody that can say exactly why. But sometimes it just doesn't happen that way. But most of the time you have to come through and interview. You have to apply for a position higher. You have to have the education and the experience."

Researcher: "All the way up?"

Staff B: "Yep. When I was hired on, that's what I was told" (O-M: 20).

Many of the staff, however, had no desire to seek promotions. As one group of RP's stated:

Staff A: "I've sat in that position [RP2-supervisor] you know. So, personally, I don't [want to be promoted]."

Researcher: "Why not?"

Staff A: "It's an experience - like it taught me a lot, I will not say that it didn't, but I didn't care for the hours, to suit myself, I didn't like the upper management.and have the lower people - you're in the middle, and I didn't care for that. Mind you, I learnt alot."

Staff B: "I think a family person might be more concerned with getting ahead. You know, to the RP2 [supervisor]. Because you like a nine to five type job and a chance to move up."

Staff A: "You see, and I like the front line. Because I missed that. I missed actually working with the clients themselves because that's what I wanted to do."

Staff B: "It's really not much more money. You are taking on a lot of responsibility and a lot of stress to have that position."

Staff A: "I made less in that supervisory position than I made in a group home too. But its also - I mean if you want a nine to five job and your weekends off, then it's great. You know, that way.

I found that I had time for nothing else but work. I was there until five-thirty, I'd go home and make supper and I'd have to do everything that I missed out during the day, and then try to do all your banking and everything else. It didn't suit my lifestyle ...

[But] were I more concerned about moving up, I would definitely cultivate a friendship with people a lot

> higher up then I am. You'd rather hire someone you knew" (O-M: 22)

The staff at this level viewed the supervisors as the ones who evaluated them based on their mutually agreed annual goals. These goals were based primarily on the responsibilities described in their job descriptions supplemented by a few personal and professional development goals. All of these criteria were client oriented. Most staff viewed the effect of the fiscal restraint as primarily lengthening the time period required to meet their client goals; many also queried whether the standard of care would eventually reduce to a maintenance level over time. All expected that their supervisors would take the restraint into consideration when doing their evaluation since the reduction in resources was beyond the staffs' control.

The staff, however, also viewed the manager and particularly the director as influencing their final rating of their performance appraisal as delineated in the following passage, the staff viewed the supervisors as being under pressure not to award the higher ratings.

> Researcher: "Who influences the way you're evaluated? You said that you mark your own comments. Does anyone else influence the way that you are evaluated?"
>
> Staff A: "I think the director would in some way."
>
> Staff B: "Yeah."
>
> Staff C: "They'd tell them what to look for."
>
> Staff D: "Well, like I know of a case where a girl wasn't given a 'five' which is the top. You kind of skip increments or whatever, and yet she was an excellent worker and everything. And yet just because of the cutbacks, they didn't want her to move the two increments up or whatever."
>
> Researcher: "To save money?"

Staff D: "Yeah, and the higher ups - don't they discourage supervisors from giving anything more than 'threes' now? 'Three' is just satisfactory work."

Researcher: "Why do you think?"

Staff D: "Well, I'm not sure of that. Well now you don't get a pay increase for even a four. I'm not sure what it is, if it's from the cutback or not. They don't encourage anything more than a 'three'."

Researcher: "So a 'three' is 'doing your job'?"

Staff C: "Right, and doing one more to your job according to the definition."

Researcher: "And if you feel that you've done more than your job, you used to get a 'four' or 'five' and now you don't?"

Staff C: "Yes."

Staff D: "And also what it is, is if you have 'four', it only has to go as far as CPD, the Service Director who says 'O.K. I'll approve this'. But if it's 'five' it has to go all the way up to ED kind of thing. And then you get into this 'oh I really don't want to bother him about that'. You know, 'he'll probably say 'no', and everything like that.

So the higher mark that you get, the higher you have to go. So they're just saying 'well, why bother? Lets just give you this'."

Researcher: "So there is an organizational process involved that requires the higher the evaluation mark, the higher it has to go in the organization?"

Staff D: "Yeah, which is valid you know, like there is nothing wrong with that. It's just that, you know, it makes people not want to go that high."

Researcher: "Why not?"

Staff D: "Well, not the individual but the person evaluating you has to go through this and this to get to there."

Researcher: "You said, 'especially now' because of -?"

Staff D: "It's just everybodies' increase in the workloads too."

Researcher: "So the increase in workloads - sort of, 'the supervisor has enough to do as it is than to have to go and put up with this yet'?"

Staff D: "Yeah."

Researcher: "Do you except that?"

Staff C: "I don't think that any of us really have been here long enough to get there."

Staff A: "Well, the last group home I was in, I argued with my evaluation and I didn't get anywhere with it."

Staff B: "Yeah, like then they'll really look through the books and say, 'well did you really do all this and this' and really evaluate you."

Researcher: "So if you really start disputing the fact then they'll start going to taking out the fine tooth comb and going through it?"

Staff B: "Right, [even] looking under your fingernails" (O-F: 7-8).

The Cultural System

Mission/Strategy

Almost all of the staff in the group homes stated they were doing their jobs because the clients deserved a chance to live in the community and to develop to the best of their abilities. One exception, however, was a houseparent who questioned whether during times of economic restraint, the government should be channeling its resources to help persons who could be more productive to society in the long run.

Researcher: "So they would take some of your needs into consideration?"

Houseparent: "Sure, 'me too', you know. I'm not only a dust cloth here for every Tom, Dick and Harry. ... they should reconsider my needs to. Not only here. What can you do here? Now what can you save here on those clients?"

Researcher: "What do you mean, 'what can you save'?"

Houseparent: "What you've done anyway. You can not make them smart."

Researcher: "Are they not improving a bit over the last years? No? You've not seen any improvement?"

Houseparent: "No, no. The Government works very funny ways. Let's say a family with four or five kids on welfare. They're normal kids. They're functional.

What did that woman get on welfare? Pretty near peanuts. I know. I was on welfare in [a city in Canada] with my son. I know how you have to jiggle your money around and then you want to feed those kids nutritious food too. You can't.

Here they feed them over nutritious. I say that's enough! The clients blow up from nutrition. I said, 'my god that's enough.'

Here, they want to make dumb people smart people, and here [on welfare] they try to make out smart people, dumb people - because they don't have enough nutritious food.

Why don't you give it to them [those on welfare]? Put them [the clients all in an institute. Thats the best place. Then the Government sees money. Because you don't improve nothing.

Researcher: "You think that's what they want to do - is save money?"

Houseparent: "Sure. Send them back. And then families - their families, some of them are rich. They don't pay a red cent for their children here. But they make trips to Europe and everywhere.

I work like a horse and I cannot make it. I'm telling you the truth. I wish I can go and visit my daughter too. In [a country in Europe] and my sister before she dies. I can't afford it.

But them, they go to Hawaii, to Europe, everywhere. And what do they do for that kid here? Nothing! Let them pay for their kids. Its not the Government that made them, the parents made them. They think they improve. I can see it. I've been long enough here" (O-I: 20-21).

This houseparent, however, was an extreme exception. All of the other staff, including all of the other houseparents interviewed (who had also been cutback to halftime), felt the clients not only deserved but had a right to this chance to live and develop in the community.

The overwhelming response therefore, reinforced a perspective that those in all levels within the organization, believed both in the dignity of these individuals and their right to develop and live within a community setting.

Researcher:	"What do you see are the values underlying the mission - the purpose of CLS? What are the values underlying - you said that the purpose was to help clients develop to the maximum of their potential, (I'm summarizing). What values are those based on?"
Staff A:	"Normalization, for sure."
Staff B:	"Normalization. Yeah, the fact that you're in the community helps - eh, in the home setting."
Staff C:	"I guess the value would be that the people we work with deserve respect, have earned respect, and are capable of a lot of development. Otherwise, we wouldn't be doing what we're doing, I don't think."
Researcher:	"O.k., do you think those values are shared all the way through the organization?"
Staff A:	"Yes."
Staff B:	"Yeah, I would say they are, but I'm just assuming they are."
Researcher:	"They are? Including ED?"
Staff B:	"I think you truly believe that, but he is not doing it" (O-K: 18).

These beliefs were reinforced in the day-to-day encounters in the group home as well as during the bi-weekly staff meetings. These values became evident during a discussion with a number of staff from one of the group homes.

Researcher:	"Is there any other issue that you think is important?"

Staff A: "Yeah, I think it's 'control of parents'."

Researcher: "What do you mean by "control of parents"?"

Staff A: "Well, the Government has set up institutions and took all the control from parents. Now they're trying to give the control back to the parents and you're into grey areas.

You're overlapping in responsibility ... in the past, they set up Michener Center [a Provincial institution for the mentally handicapped], took all the control from the parents, and now they're trying to give the control back to the parents.

Just a change of philosophy or attitudes these days. So, you're running into a lot of grey areas; you're running into problems, conflicts. And that's something that has to be dealt with."

Researcher: "Is that a value change? That now society seems to have changed the value from 'we can look after these guys. Put them away in institutions and don't worry about them. Pretend that they're dead'. Now, [it's] 'they're still part of your family and we can help you raise your child'?"

Staff A: "Yes."

Staff B: "And I also think it's partly motivated by economic reasons. The Government, not just in Social Services, but right across the board, in any area, wants to put the kind of control back with the people who have to deal with it. ...

The economic reason is in benefits - less staff that the government has to pay, less expectation placed on quality. Well, maybe that's badly put. Meaning, I'm saying that if they're not involved then they can get away with shoddy work or something like that. But I don't mean that. I mean it will cost the government less to dole the money out to people who apply for the money than it will for them to run it themselves" (O-K: 23-24).

Organization Structure

Most of the supervisors in the group homes were perceived as peers by the group home staff. Their primary function was viewed as enabling the staff to develop and care for these clients in their (i.e., the clients') home by ensuring that the staff had adequate knowledge and resources. The staff viewed the supervisor as both a link between themselves and the rest of the organization, and as someone whose knowledge for programming skills was superior to their own. When the staff perceived their supervisor as not being 'professional' they raised the concern.

Researcher: "What about the group home supervisors' jobs. What are their jobs?"

Staff: "Authorizing. And you know, complying as she can with our requests for typing letters, and money requests, and talking for us, I suppose, when it comes to getting agreements for trips and things like that.

Program wise, I've never had any feedback from the supervisor. I didn't think that she was as informed or as accurate as she was in programming skills."

Researcher: "So she wasn't accurate in programming skills?"

Staff: "She didn't know enough."

Researcher: "Oh, you mean no knowledge?"

Staff: "Knowledge for programming skills."

Researcher: "Not good?"

Staff: "Not for a supervisor. You would expect a supervisor to be there and be able to tell you, 'yes, that is the way you should be going about it', or 'no, it is not'. And that's not what happened. I mean, there's a lot of 'well, maybe,' or 'I don't know'. And I don't really appreciate that from a supervisor.

You know, I would certainly appreciate if she could be able to sit down with me and say, 'no, that's the way I see it, and that's not the way I want you to do it,' period. Instead of being on your own and say, 'well, if I do it, she probably won't say anything, anyway. And if I don't do it, she probably won't say anything, anyway' so - "

Researcher: "You're pretty well on your own."

Staff: "Well, you know, she's good for coming in and helping out with houseparent duties, making lunches, taking clients out. Which is good when you're certainly short of staff and she's there to be able to do it. It's perfect.

But ... for some people she's not a supervisor. Well, she was more of a friend, ... coming in here and wearing frontline staff's clothes. ... coming out and advertising whose clothes she's wearing when she's actually supposed to be a supervisor and wearing frontline clothes. I mean, the relationship between the supervisor and the staff at that point in time, it's -"

Researcher: "You get the feeling that she's favoring over the other?"

Staff: "Oh, she is" (O-D: 7-8).

This perception of favoritism, however, was a minority view and appeared to be a result of staff with bureaucratic expectations trying to function in an organic organizational sub-culture. The majority of staff viewed their supervisors as supportive in the home and also acting as buffer between them and the rest of the organization.

Researcher: "What is [supervisor]'s management style?"

Staff-A: "Just to do your job and you're all right."

Staff B: "Yeah, yeah and he basically - "

Researcher: "You do your job and you're all right. Meaning -?"

Staff A: "Well, as long as you do your work and you look after your clients properly then your -"

Researcher: "He's pretty easy going, calm then?"

Staff A: "Yeah."

Researcher: "Oh, that's what you mean."

Staff A: "Well, yeah. He places expectations and that, and he doesn't clutter up our lives with a lot of stuff from downtown. Which is good and bad.

Sometimes, myself, I feel a little lost when I don't have enough information of what - the dirt, I guess, what's going on - and you know, in the agency.

> But at the same time, we don't get a lot of unnecessary flack for things that really don't have a bearing [on us now], or may [occur] down in the future. We may hear about it then, but we're not going to hear about it earlier."

Researcher: "So he acts as a buffer a bit?"

Staff A: "I think so."

Researcher: "And you see that as useful?"

Staff A: "Yes" (O-K: 5).

Even with the fiscal restraint, the sub-cultures of each of the homes supported the view that the client came first. The staff perceived themselves as visitors in the clients' home. They were there as a means to achieve the clients' goals as defined and consented to by the parent or guardian. An example of this is their reaction to the no smoking policy. Although many were annoyed at the method used by the managers in terms of formulating the decision, all staff acknowledged that they would stop smoking in the group homes since none of the clients smoked. They perceived the group homes as similar to private homes of non smokers. Since they would not think of smoking in a private home without first asking their hosts, they felt that they should not smoke in the group homes without the clients' consent. Since most of the parents or guardians of the clients felt that a smoke-free home was in the best interest of the clients, the staff decided to acknowledge their wishes.

Most of the staff acknowledged that they did not know the values of the director. As noted in the quotes above they viewed him however, as primarily bureaucraticaly-oriented - meaning that they felt he would put the interests of the region and department before the interests of the clients. Many felt that ED should develop a first hand awareness of the problems, issues and workings of the homes rather than relying on the information he received through attendance at formal staff meetings and from his managers.

Human Resource Management

It appeared from the interviews, that those persons who had been selected to perform the operational level functions of the organization possessed values that were in line with the values underlying the mission statement. The development and socialization process with the staff, occurred almost exclusively within the context of the group home in which they worked. As a result their expectations were home rather than organizationally focused. Staff therefore did not have an awareness of the events and cultures of the other homes or the organization as a whole. Most of the staff put more priority on the sense of satisfaction they were receiving from the clients than on the formal appraisal system - although many acknowledged that they were being much better paid for their jobs than their counterparts in the private sector.

Their belief in what they were doing was not altered by the fiscal restraint. In fact several staff mentioned that they felt management was using their strong commitment to the clients as a means of dealing with the cutback and resources. They felt management knew that they would continue to do what needs to be done for the client even if it meant doing it on their own time.

Those at the operational level, then, viewed their most relevant rewards coming from the clients, the parents or guardians, and their peers rather than from the formal appraisal system. They viewed the output of the organization in terms of the intra-psychic and social development of their client within the group home environment and perceived their rewards linked to this development.

Staff: "... Outtings have suffered very much. They are pretty basically, you take your client out on your own time."

Researcher: "Oh really, after you finish work you mean, or your days off?"

Staff: "If you are willing to do that, a lot of us did it a lot at first until we finally said, 'hey I think that we are being taken advantage off'. We sort of got the feeling that management was getting the idea that we were able to accomplish our goals.

It was like we were taking paperwork home, we were taking our programs home and we were doing everything at home. And we didn't want them to get the idea that we could accomplish, you know, our jobs in what looks like - it looked we were doing it successfully with the budget cutbacks and actually we were doing a lot, [in fact] most of the work on unpaid time."

Researcher: "On unpaid time?"

Staff: "Yes."

Researcher: "So on your own time?"

Staff: "That's right. So we sort of had an agreement and we haven't been able to stick to it completely, but we're not going to be doing things on our own time. Just because we want to show management that it's too much."

Researcher: "What is the cost of that? Is there a cost to the client then?"

Staff: "In terms of leisure, in terms of getting out into the community, in terms of the whole normalization of being in a home in the community, yes."

Researcher: "You said that you haven't been able to stick to it entirely, why not? Did you mean by that, that you still are doing things on your own time?"

Staff: "Yes."

Researcher: "Oh."

Staff: "If you know, how can you ignore someones birthday, and things like that? You can't!" (0-A: 2-3).

In short, those at the operational level viewed their most relevant rewards coming from the clients, the parents or guardians, and their peers in the group home rather than from the formal appraisal system. They viewed the output of the organization in terms of the intra-psychic and social development of their client within a group home environment and perceived their rewards linked to this development. Their expectations of themselves, their jobs and of their supervisors developed as they encountered and resolved the daily problems of their clients. The environment which they scanned and within which they operated were client centered.

The misalignment evident within the cultural system as perceived by the operational staff appeared to center around the perceived means-oriented values of the management (and especially the director), and their own client-oriented values which they viewed as legitimating the 'true' mission of the organization. This is exemplified in the following passage which was part of a group interview held in one of the group homes.

Researcher: "[Do you mean that] the bad name for CLS is because of the management problem rather than what is going on with the client?"

Staff A: "And the way that the organization is run. It's poorly run. And that is caused by management."

Researcher: "Could you give me an example of how it is poorly run? You mean the emphasis on paperwork instead of people?"

Staff A: "Yeah, like here they are, their mission is all for the clients mainly, but they don't do that. Like all the paperwork, like you said before, it looks good on paper but they aren't really taking time. They don't know these clients. They don't know them personally. They don't know their behavior. ... They don't even know their hair colour. But yet they're planning their life for them."

Staff B: "Yeah, that is true."

Staff C: "And there is no individualization, like they're doing it for all the dependant handicapped [but] each child is totally different."

Staff A: "And it is the almighty goals. If we don't reach our goals [supervisor] doesn't reach her goals. [Supervisor] doesn't reach her goals, then CPD doesn't reach her goals. And I don't know if it goes up to ED. It must if CPD doesn't reach her goals. So get them papers in and let's get these goals on a roll!"

Researcher: "So the goals are the paper -"

Staff A: "The supervisor for the group home, say, has to have this many programs done in this amount of time. [She] has to have all the IPP's done by, say, October. If one person doesn't have them done, that goes against our supervisor with her meeting with CPD."

Researcher: "So by the time that you get at it, the goal becomes the paper, producing the paper rather than implementing the program?"

Staff A: "Right."

Staff B: "It doesn't seem to matter how well you interact with the child. Like I brought that up at my supervision. You know, some people can interact with the kids and get them to do things better than others, that doesn't matter here. It doesn't matter. ...

Do you know what I mean? So what if the clients don't like you as a staff or you don't like the clients."

Staff B: "But you got your paperwork done, you can stay here."

Staff A: "You've got your paperwork done, and so what if you can't keep this client under control or whatever, you've got your paperwork done and thats what counts.

I suggested on my last EPAS [performance appraisal] that they take that [into] consideration. 'She deals well with clients', 'she interacts well with clients', or what ever, or 'she doesn't'.

You've got to be compassionate in this area. You've got to have compassion. You've got to feel for these kids. You know, and if you don't you might as well not be here because they know it. The clients know it."

Researcher: "O.k., but when I discussed the criteria used to evaluate you, compassion wasn't one of them."

Staff A: "No, and that is the whole thing. That's the wrong thing about it. Like we're getting all our goals and everything [is really based] on the paperwork" (O-L: 34-36).

CHAPTER 10

THE EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

The Bureaucratic Pressures

To determine the nature, intensity and sources of the fiscal reductions affecting C.L.S. the researcher interviewed those 'bureaucrats' who were in the direct line between C.L.S. and the provincial minister. This included the Regional Manager (RM), the Regional Director (RD), the Assistant Deputy Minister for Service Delivery (ADM), and the Deputy Minister (DM) for the Department. The comments from these four individuals were combined to develop the group perspective of the economic pressures.

All participants in this group viewed the Treasury Board of government as the source of the fiscal reduction. The fiscal reduction directive was apparently based on the Provincial Treasurer rapidly coming to grips with the deep financial problem created by the drastic fall in the world prices for oil. Apparently, the provincial budget had been based on the projection that the world price of oil would remain around thirty five dollars ($35.00) per barrel. When the world prices dropped to less than half of that price and remained there, the royalties required to balance the provincial budget were drastically reduced. The strategy chosen by the government was to both increase revenues through increased and new taxes, and to reduce expenditures by slashing the current year's budget.

The Treasury Board apparently devised a new process to realize the reductions. They identified target reduction goals with apparently little or no input from the various departments affected. The Minister's and Deputy Minister's were informed of their reduction goal.

> Researcher: "What effect have the fiscal restraint had on your job?
>
> Respondent: "Substantial, the fiscal restraint, and I don't think that people fully realize yet what the impact of that restraint will be. This is not a one time episode, nor is it a Provincial episode. It is part of what everyone in the country is experiencing in the level of Government - particularly those outside of Central Canada. So, the short term fiscal restraint has forced the people I work for to rapidly come to grips with the very deep financial problems that the Province has.
>
> That has produced, in the first year, real strain on the processes for decision making in this government. Strain in the sense that program lines [which] one often thinks of in a Department like this had not been dealt with in decision making. Not in this department, but in the other department (Treasury).
>
> So, there is not debate about Services for the Handicapped, there is not debate about the traditional program line; there is a debate about how much money we've got and how much money needs to be cut from current expenditures. And I think that it is fairly obvious that it was a broad axe approach taken this year. The processes of decision making in this government in the budget support, the analysis and so on, that traditionally went on in a growth economy have proven themselves to be simply not able to cope with the cutback restraint... ."
>
> Researcher: "So, the Treasury Branch really drove the changes?"
>
> Respondent: "Absolutely" (B-B: 1-4).

Because of the growing Income Security case load (see Table 12 in Chapter V above), the Department found that it had over expended its original budget. When they requested additional funds to meet their commitment, they were told by Treasury to reduce their expenditures by approximately three hundred million dollars over the last quarter. The Deputy Minister was also informed of what programs he could not cut as well as areas in which cuts were to be emphasized (e.g. Policy and Program Planning and Corporate Headquarters).

Researcher: "So, I gather what you're saying is that the budget becomes the first priority and then the programs. The effect on the programs then, are looked on almost as an after thought if you've got to hit a certain percentage of reduction, now how are we going to do it? Is that the process?"

Respondent: "In this particular process we weren't asked how to do it. We were told. There was no bottom up policy proposals that were accepted because the cuts were so huge in this Department. My estimates were three hundred million dollars short of my spending. So we weren't into a process which said, 'if you gave us the following parameters we would go out and change and shape policy'. As you can see, benefits to singles [on Income Security] were just cut."

Researcher: "But, were you told what programs to cut and to what degree?"

Respondent: "Yes."

Researcher: "Oh really, so the decisions were made beyond -"

Respondent: "Oh yes. I was told to - very clearly - that if I didn't come in with a headquarter's reduction that was substantially higher than the region - "

Researcher: "O.k., but you weren't told what to cut at headquarters?"

Respondent: "Yes, policy and program" (B-B: 2-3).

The Government's direction was to achieve these goals by reducing non-direct care manpower as much as possible (Premier's press release, November 17, 1986). The senior managers of the Department, therefore, endeavored to seek solutions that would accomplish the fiscal goal and still minimize the negative impact on both the clients and the Minister.

Respondent: "Well, the primary concern that I had throughout was that I had to meet a target that was being transmitted to me through the bureaucratic system, but that I knew had been set politically. So there was never any thought of appealing the target. Alright?"

Researcher: "O.K."

Respondent: "I knew I didn't have to ask, I knew that that decision had been taken in cabinet and that there would be certain reductions. And I knew that our Minister would have participated and would have defended the Department the best that she could, but that the decision was made and therefore no point in appealing it. So the question in my mind became, 'how can we do that with minimal impact on the clients, and the minimal impact, frankly, on the Minister publically.' That is, 'how can she get away with this with the least impact to herself and the least impact to the clients'. Those are the two things that I kept in mind" (B-E: 4-5).

The Executive Management Committee was used to devise scenarios which would meet the fiscal target within the criteria provided. To achieve this, those in the top three levels of the bureaucracy appeared to function more on a collegial basis than on a bureaucratic basis. Each executive manager scanned the environments that fell within the scope of their authority and responsibility to try to determine the best ways of meeting the target.

Respondent: "... the cuts were going to occur in the [name] Region. There was going to be a public impact and I thought that I was in the best position, you know, in the Department to know what that impact would be and what the likely community reaction to it would be."

Researcher: "And ... you were given that informal leeway by them [his bosses in the bureaucracy] as well?"

Respondent: "Well, yeah. Nobody, nobody questioned what we were doing and the package that we presented was eventually excepted completely. I mean, down to the last penny" (B-E: 5).

Therefore, though these persons were formally in a line relationship to one another, in practice they communicated and shared information on a collegial basis. The political system used to generate the final alternatives, therefore, was quite organic among the top managers. Conflicting perspectives were discussed and encouraged to ensure that the effects of the cuts were viewed in as broad a light as possible. All the executive managers appeared to have a clear and consistent understanding of the criteria that were going to be used to judge their suggested solutions. The ideal, as described by one of these managers was "to provide services to clients within the resources available in a manner that the Government wished" (B-E: 8).

To achieve this, the executive management found that they required new ways of obtaining and processing information.

> Respondent: "What information I needed desperately in the last year was political information. Where the political, and I mean small 'p' and big 'p' politics, were taking us. I needed to know what the processes were, because the processes that had been established and that I'd operated in since I've been in this Government, weren't there, and we didn't have the budget process that we had in previous years.
>
> Most Departments didn't get a real day in court in front of Treasury Board. We did. We got several days in court, but they weren't the same kind of days. The rules were different so most of the information that I needed was as to process and to new rules of decision making, new kinds of information.
>
> One of the big issues was what kind of information we were going to give up. We were asked by Treasury Board to provide reams and reams of information. And with the support of the Minister, we said 'no, to hell with you. We'll give it to you in our own good time.'
>
> You've got to realize that there are some major social issues that faced me and not the least of which was the size of the unemployment and growing welfare problems" (B-B: 3).

Each of the executive managers requested the input from those reporting to him. He then screened out those suggestions that were not in line with his perceptions of the criteria or the target, and passed the remaining options up the line to where they were debated and combined in the executive committee to develop the final plan.

> Respondent: "In reality I knew from the beginning, like there was never any doubt in my mind, that if I came up with a reasonable package that it would be accepted. No one else was doing analysis, sufficiently detailed analysis of the [name] Region manpower to be able to make alternative recommendations.
>
> What I anticipated would happen was that some of the recommendations that I might make, that some components of the package might not be acceptable bureaucratically or politically and I might then be asked to make alternative recommendations" (B-E: 1-2).
>
> Respondent: "... there were four major options that ED presented and, in discussion with him, that [reducing the houseparents to halftime] was the preferred option from my perspective."
>
> Researcher: "From yours or from ED's?"
>
> Respondent: "Well both, as far as I'm concerned it was the most comfortable option."
>
> Researcher: "For you?"
>
> Respondent: "Yes."
>
> Researcher: "Was that the one that was supported by C.L.S. from your perspective?"
>
> Respondent: "I don't think any change, any reduction would have been supported" (B-A: 6).

The focus of the information process for the executive managers then, was the Minister. As one of the Executive Managers stated,

> "I guess what I'm saying, is that smart senior managers make damn sure that they're doing things the way the Minister wishes. And if they suspect, as I often suspected the communication process, is the bureaucratic communication processes in the Department were extremely poor, that they couldn't rely on the messages that they were getting, and that they had better develop their own sources of information - Informal sources of information, which is what I did" (B-E: 8).

This collegial style of operation was also perceived by these managers as quite functional. For example, as one of the executive managers noted:

> "... we can make a lot of it work just by getting people basically to talk to each other. It's alot easier to be mad and pissed of with someone that you don't talk to than someone who's eyeball to eyeball. Kind of approach them and try to use those sorts of issues to get people sitting across the table from each other. You'll find most of the time, alot of the bullshit disappears when you do that" (B-C: 10).

This style of management seemed to carry on past the particular task of achieving the fiscal reduction objective. For example, this collegial process was used to devise the goals and plans for the next fiscal year.

Researcher:	"So part of your job is to set the objectives for the Regional Directors?"
Respondent:	"What I did this time is I sent them a two-page memo that I thought we should aim for in 87/88. And I sat down for two days with the Regional Directors to look at how viable a goal that was and how well they could operationalize it. And it ended up having to negotiate, discuss a couple of the things, changing my mind with new information. By in large everybody's saying, 'yeah, thats what we need to do'."
Researcher:	"But do you establish that, or do you check that out with [DM] first, in terms of another direction?"
Respondent:	"It was interesting. I was going to check it out with [DM] first, then I decided not to. I decided that I would be better off to get that validated at the regions before going back to [DM] which is what I'll be doing" (B-C: 7).

The final changes to the technical system therefore, went through a total bureaucratic political system within the Department which was primarily organic at the top, more mechanistic near the middle management level, and in the case of C.L.S., organic at the operational level. This departmental political system is outlined in figure 13 below.

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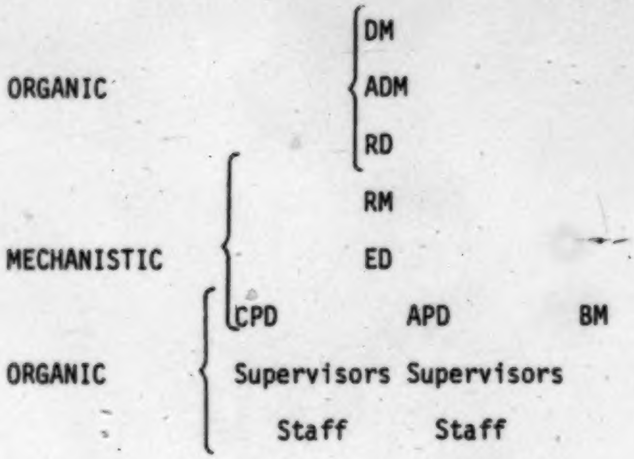

Figure 13. - Departmental Political System used to Develop Technical Changes Required by the Fiscal Reductions.

The fiscal pressures place on C.L.S. was therefore filtered through the various levels of the bureaucracy. The managers at each level interpreted the significance and effect of the requests for the level below. During the period of fiscal reduction, however, the requests seemed to vary from day to day.

> "Its because of the way that decisions are being made - coming from the Department to us - that's caused the problem. It's this week 'it's turn right', next week, 'it's turn left', and the next week, 'it's turn right and turn left and don't worry if you get split in half in trying to do that role'.
>
> So part of it has been some lack of consistent leadership in terms of fiscal policy - in interpreting what Treasury wants, interpreting how the Regions are going to respond to the corporate directions. It's been so frustrating. ... within an eight week period we had at least a half a dozen major shifts and each time that had an adjustment or a change" (B-A: 36-37).

The response consisted of alternative technical system changes which would accommodate the perceived request. Since only the alternative which that line manager deemed to meet the criteria to the greatest degree was incorporated into the information sent to the next level, the many changes in the requests created a feeling of frustration and insecurity by those 'middle' managers in the bureaucracy who were not privy to all the information. As one of the executive managers described:

> "Well there was certainly a lot of stress the further [in the organization] you went. There was a lot of stress throughout. I think there was a lot of concern further down, particularly in the [fiscal] exercise because people were concerned about their jobs.
>
> Higher up in the organization, the more information we all had about what was going on, and what's the real effect was going to be. And so [we had] relatively less concern for our own personal positions. That is, those of us that could see that we were going to survive. A lot of the senior people didn't, and they were stressed throughout" (B-E: 10).

The executive managers in the Department appeared to have less difficulty with the means-oriented premises underlying the fiscal reduction request. According to one of the more senior executive managers, the Government, and particularly the Treasury Board viewed programs primarily as a way of spending money.

> Researcher: "Yeah, but it wasn't perceived as ways of spending money [when the programs were being developed] by the people at the front lines. It was looked at as ways of trying to accommodate needs that they had identified."
>
> Respondent: "[they were] still ways of spending money. You had a government that wanted it spent. But I can tell you that the program planning, program design, program policy in this Department and in the [previous] one I left in contrast to those set of processes which take place in the East [Eastern Canada], are non-existent. Most of it is throwing money, ... There was no sense of what the program was really trying to accomplish in any kind of quantifiable way.
>
> Same thing with Services for the Handicapped. That for me is evidence of no program planning. Not anything other than throwing a lot of money, and sometimes a lot of money paid off. There is some good, really good things, world class things that have

> happened as a result of that. But, I wouldn't say that they were a product of grass roots policy development and so on. That was too much good time" (B-B: 5-6).

It appeared, from this person's perspective, that those in the Provincial Treasury Board viewed government programs more as a means of spending money than as a service meeting an expressed need. When times were good and resources plentiful, spending money seemed to be a priority. This executive, however, did not view this situation as particularly incongruent, since the monetary resources also enabled the Department to carry out its programs.

> "I mean, the Department is many things. It's there to protect and monitor, and so on; but it is [also] there to move money because the money is what lets people in our business who are closest to the client wants and needs, get what they want (B-B: 21).

This balance was also summarized by another executive who stated:

> "During the [past] two years ... need was important and continued to be important. Budget was important and continued to be important. Well, I see the priority changed in terms of the amount of my own time, and the time of the executive committee that we were spending of the budget. For several months it became almost an all consuming exercise.
>
> I don't mean to imply that we started paying more attention to the funds of the programs and less attention to the needs of the clients. Those needs are still important. We just had to think of how many of them we could meet" (B-E: 7).

Therefore, those programs that were developed during the 'good times' which were not essential to the missions of the various government departments were re-examined and trimmed and once times 'turned tough'. These non-essential programs were either reduced or terminated entirely in order to save money.

As summarized by one of the executive managers, the impact of the restraints at least "created some sensitivity at the regional, corporate, and administrative levels about the amount of money we were investing in certains kinds of program options. We have had to ask ourselves the question of 'can we support this as an entity? Do we need to explore other ways?'" (B-A: 23).

In fact, one of the senior executives viewed the cutbacks as an opportunity rather than a threat.

> "I think that it is an opportunity to get the values [of the Department] pushed further. I'm optimistic that ... there is still a small commitment to get power to clients. [That is] putting purchasing power into their hands - separating our basic services that any person who is regarded as handicapped and our specialized services - to push things to a more community based level, to break down the many empires of service delivery.
>
> The value base here is a power of clients, which means disempowering the economic interests - including places like C.L.S. Where there is an economic vested interest in service provision that is in many ways contrary to client empowerment (B-B: 9).
>
> ... it is a complex set of things that have lead to people saying, 'I want the choice'. And the bottom line in the choice is 'I have to have the purchasing power'. There is no choice. The dollar calls it in the final analysis. ... we are structure oriented ...
>
> This year it is my hope that all the rehab. centers will loose the variable cost of their budget, and that variable cost will be given to a client who may choose not even to go to a rehab center. He'll just go and play Bingo with it.
>
> That's part of the revolution. It's the horror that a business man has at night, saying 'suppose I open my restaurant tomorrow and no one comes'. We in the human services profession have never had to worry about that" (B-B: 19).

This 'means versus ends' debate which created so much stress at the managerial and operational level in C.L.S., appeared to create less of a conflict at the senior executive management level in the Department. This was partly because the executive managers viewed the fiscal restraint as a means of increasing efficiency without necessarily negatively impacting effectiveness. It was also due to the fact that the executive managers perceived the Minister and the government as their client. They were there to help the government deliver its services in an accountable way. In the words of one executive, "it is the Minister's job to reflect the public's needs. It's the official's job to translate that into programs that provide services" (B-E: 21)

In fact, these executives viewed the fiscal reduction as motivating and justifying a re-examination of the departmental programs.

Researcher:	"Is there a clear relationship between the amount of resources spent on various goals and the importance of those goals?"
Respondent:	"I don't know."
Researcher:	"I'm looking at either funded non-goals or non-funded goals."
Respondent:	"I don't think there's a direct connection by any means. I think there are things we're not spending money on that are really important goals. And areas where they're not really important and we're spending an awful lot of money. I think its part of what we're always trying to look at in terms of efficiency and effectiveness of the programs. It's part of the kind of questioning that takes place these days. And the restraint atmosphere has given us an opportunity which is legitimized because people understand that we're in this situation. Some of examples are the kinds of decisions made in Calgary and Edmonton in the last while with services operating thirty, forty, fifty years. [These services] were called into question, stopped and diverted into areas probably a lot more cost effective and efficient."
Researcher:	"One effect of the fiscal restraint is re-looking at what services you're providing. How, in terms of it's relationship to other services, you're providing them,

> and then re-examining the priorities against a new economic scene."
>
> Respondent: "Its repriorizing. Its an opportunity actually" (B-C: 21-22).

The fiscal restraint, therefore, was viewed by the executive managers as an opportunity for each of the programs to re-examine their purposes.

> "They forgot what got them there. How did C.L.S. get to there? It wasn't just the fact that there was money laid aside. There was leadership, and there was a value base.
>
> I would say go back to your grass roots. I mean boards grow, and before you know it the Executive Director runs it, and the board gets together for a chat and they forget what they started.
>
> So C.L.S. has 'peaked', I guess in sport terms or whatever. And, in order to get going you've got to go back to what made you a success in the first place" (B-B: 23).

The fiscal pressures which were transmitted to C.L.S. via the bureaucracy were perceived as real. The pressure, however, was a dynamic one in that its intensity changed frequently over a period of a few months. This created a highly unstable environment for C.L.S. resulting in a high degree of uncertainty, stress and frustration among the C.L.S. managers and staff.

The Parental Pressures

In order to develop the parent's perspective the researcher interviewed fifteen parents. These parents represented eleven of the residents in C.L.S. (i.e., four interviews were conducted with both parents present). The representative of the Children's Guardian (who is responsible for eleven children) and the Public Guardian's Representative (who is legal guardian of eighteen adults) were also interviewed. Of the fifteen parents, all but four sat on the Parent Advisory Committee. They represented seven of the fourteen group homes. The Public Guardian Representative also sat on the Parent Advisory Committee. The Children's Guardian, however, did not.

The major focus of all the parents and guardians was undoubtedly their child. All viewed their roles as monitoring the services being provided ~~to~~ their child, deciding which program were in his/ her best interest and consenting to their implementation, and advocating on his/her behalf to the group home staff if they felt some important needs were being unmet. The following comments were quite typical of the parents' perception of their role.

> Researcher: "[What is] your role within the organization, the functions you play?"
>
> Parent: "Well I hope that they [the staff] are looking at us a loving, responsible parents, and I think that that is our driving force. These are particularly in the case of our son. He has to be taken care of twenty-four hours a day. [He's] very dependant.
>
> I think that it is very important for us as parents to see that the people that are in charge of his development and welfare are doing a responsible job" (P-B: 5).
>
> Researcher: "Could you describe your job for me as a parent in C.L.S.?"
>
> Parent: "I feel that we should be as active as possible in finding out what is going on within [C.L.S.] as far as policy direction and, in fact, what is going on in the group homes. And to spend as much time as we can with our son. We obviously made a commitment to allow him to be raised by Social Services, but I feel that it is our responsibility to still take a very active part" (P-I: 1).

All parents and guardians were members of their child's 'core team'- a team consisting of the key member in the group home, the group home supervisor, and the teacher or other professionals working with the client. The parent or guardian was the ultimate decision-maker for the team. As one parent stated, "everyone has to go through me or nothing goes. ... It makes me feel I'm still part of his life." (P-D: 6). Another parent viewed the core team as one of the major means to exchange information regarding their child.

Researcher:	"And your role on their [core team] is to consent to whatever treatments?"
Parent:	"Yes, we would keep a constant dialogue regarding what his objectives are, what he is achieving, the progress he is making" (P-B: 3).

Other parents however although acknowledging their role on the core team, primarily followed the suggestions of their key worker and the other members of the core team.

Researcher:	"So you have final decision making really? You have to decide. They can't do anything without your consent. Are you just involved with the programming of your daughter or is there anything else, advocating for her, coming up with different program ideas, or do you leave that pretty well up to them?"
Parent:	"I've pretty well left it up to them, I don't know, I feel that maybe they're more qualified than me. They always discuss it with me and everything, and with the teachers and everything" (T-A: 1).

Most parents however, did view the Individual Program Plan (I.P.P.) format used by the frontline staff as another means of obtaining information on their child and guiding their child's development.

Parent:	"You see up until then, there was something going on but we could never put our hands on it."
Researcher:	"So the I.P.P. has brought it together and shown you how they're achieving - "
Parent:	"I think it focused the actual objectives and the kind of techniques and approaches and so on that he [key worker] is using. And it is obviously a payoff to see

that he has certainly met some of the objectives that he has set up in the time that we have observed him" (P-B" 4).

Researcher: "What do you see the I.P.P. as accomplishing?"

Parent: "I think it's good for consistency. Like, my son has behavioral problems and I think that he needs this consistency.

Like, I felt that one of the reasons he couldn't live at home was because I couldn't look after him twenty-four hours a day. And yet in the [group home], the staff change every seven and one quarter hours.

Sometimes there's just wage staff on. Let's say a permanent staff is in the bathroom with another client, well Darcy may be doing something that he shouldn't be doing.

The I.P.P. is good because if everybody's done and studied their I.P.P.'s, and knows what the program's about, they should know what the client is or is not supposed to be doing at certain times.

... and I can't believe the remarkable change in him. Its just - it's incredible what they've done with him. Right from the very beginning, his eating habits, starting to control his temper, everything like that. And give them full credit, you know, because I just couldn't do it" (P-D: 1-2).

All of the parents and guardians also appreciated the philosophy of the group homes which was to involve the parents to the maximum degree. A number of parents stated clearly that this approach helped them to deal with their feelings of guilt about not being able to look after them at home. The following two examples illustrate the intensity of the parent's feelings.

Parent: "Unfortunately there is probably a very small percentage [of parents involved], but I don't know exactly. I only know from my own group home, ... I know how many parents are involved. ... but I understand why parents aren't involved, but its still unfortunate."

Researcher: "Why not?"

Parent: "Why? Because they expected to have a normal healthy child and they didn't. And they're devastated and they will be devastated until the day they die.

Some of the situations are really disgusting you know. They were doctor error or very often doctor error. I know that they, I don't blame doctors, but still, you know, god it's too bad.

And so they're living with the guilt. They're living with their trauma. Their families have broken up. They've often lost a husband, other kids. So they're just a mess.

And they've had their child often at home for a long time. They've suffered greatly because it's a twenty-four hour job. A twenty-four hour a day job and they, you know, have been under a lot of stress so they aren't all that well mentally.

All of a sudden they've finally gotten their kid into a group home. And I know with me, I practically had to declare myself insane before I could get my child in. And that's pretty hard. To want your child to go in is one thing, but to actually have to push your child out the door is a completely different situation. And the latter being one that hurts for a longer period of time at first.

And so then, you finally get your child in, and then you don't know what to do with your self because you've got twenty - you know, I mean you've got this time, that you've never had for well, for myself it was almost twelve years. And for a lot of other people it is even longer.

So then you've got another mental breakdown state because you don't know what to do with yourself. You've never been able to sit down and have a cup of coffee without - you know, what do you do? Let alone other things, like normal people do, like tennis, and golf and visiting neighbors and going out in the evening. Oh my god, it's devastating!

And so what do you - how do you cope, O.K.? Probably for alot of people, the only way they can cope is to forget that child because they can't balance it. If they don't forget the child, then they won't go on with their own lifes. If they don't go on with their own lifes then they might as well bring the child back home again. You know, so they've go this interaction going on. The best way they can cope is to forget."

Researcher: "And that is why they don't really get involved then?"

Parent: "Right, it hurts to much. The whole thing is it hurts to much. Or they'll get involved just a little bit. But don't tell them anything that is going wrong, because it will burst their bubble, and they'll go crazy again. So they keep their distance. ..." (P-H: 7-8).

Parent: "Well, first of all, I think that I should explain that - and I think that you'll probably hear it from all parents - they'll all say the same thing, whether their son or daughter is five or whether they're thirty-five, anybody that has a child, ... all of us have some sort of guilt about that [group home] situation."

Researcher: "The guilt - you mean in terms of not being able to look after them at home?"

Parent: "Not being able to look after them at home. Maybe not being able to visit them as often as maybe we wish to visit them. And stuff like that.

I feel guilty in my own case cause I feel guilty, and I've gotten used to living with it, is that I couldn't look after him. You know, its hard to say ... 'he doesn't live here,'. And everybody's going 'you awful woman!' You know."

Researcher: "You think so?"

Parent: "Yes. Well, I've had it. You know. But I would like to be more involved in helping out in the group home. I don't want to be supervising or to be giving anything, but I would like to be going - I go there a lot, like every Thursday, I go - I take [son] swimming. If I don't feel like swimming, we go to the park or we go to the store. We go on little outings" (P-D: 2-3).

The fact that these parents had the final say on the core team and through the I.P.P. process helped them to feel that they were still in control of their child's life. This also helped many of them deal with their guilt.

All of the parents and guardians interviewed, welcomed and supported the family oriented atmosphere and approach in the group homes. Many stated that their children perceived their group homes as more their real homes. They apparently viewed their stays at their parents' homes as visits, and were always happy to return 'home'.

Parents and guardians stated that they were most influenced by their child's 'key worker' and, to some extent, the group home supervisor - since it was these people with whom they communicated most often about their child's progress and program. The parents also viewed the houseparent as a very important component of the group homes. Since most parents visited their children during the weekend, and since the supervisors and key workers usually had the weekends off, the parents received a lot of information regarding their child from the houseparent working of the weekend. They therefore expressed concern regarding the reduction of the fulltime houseparent to the halftime position. Unlike ED and those in the bureaucracy, the parents viewed the role of the houseparent as extending beyond the housekeeping responsibilities in their job descriptions.

> Parent: "... I know that just having Lillian [houseparent]there fulltime, this was our Monday through Friday fulltime [houseparent] - and the kids knew her. My boy used to come in and say 'hi'. She'd let him in the kitchen and he'd open all the pots. It was good home cooked food, and, you know, you knew she knew what she was doing.
>
> Another thing I liked about her was that not only was she a houseparent, but she was also involved with the kids. She took them on Christmas outings. She'd come on an outing if she had to watch a couple [of children], or take a child to the bathroom - she did all those things."
>
> Researcher: "Rather than just her own job?"
>
> Parent: "Yeah, she just didn't cook and clean. ..." (P-D: 4).

When another parent was asked who she thought might take over the duties of the houseparent, she applied as follows:

> Parent: "The houseparent situation? Well, it's not taken over. You can't replace that situation and that is very unfortunate because the kids really need that."
>
> Researcher: "What was 'that function'? Do you mean the cooking and cleaning?"
>
> Parent: "A motherly role."
>
> Researcher: "Such as?"
>
> Parent: "Cleaning, cooking and pats on the head. I mean certainly sometimes they would actually, you know, help with the child. But basically it was an older female, motherly type, and she often just added that which made a house, a home."
>
> Researcher: "O.K., if she is not there to cook and clean as much now and buy groceries, who's going to do it?"
>
> Parent: "Well it isn't. It's not done. Part of the atmosphere is gone" (P-H: 11).

All of the parents interviewed stated that they had seen real improvement in the development and behavior of their children at C.L.S.. With the advent of the fiscal restraints, they expressed concern that the quality of services might drop because of two factors. First, some parents felt that the volume of work would be too much. As one parent stated, "Staff are going to have more work to do, so they are not going to be able to take as much time on the programming. So the end result is going to be that the kids are going to loose out probably" (T-A: 5). Other parents expressed concern regarding the affect of lower staff morale on their child.

> Parent: "... as soon as staff morale goes down, those kids are affected greatly - more than normal kids would be, so-called normal kids. They pickup on those vibes. They get very upset" (P-H: 22).

Some parents felt that because of the close relationship between the staff and the clients, that the clients were particularly sensitive to the lowered staff morale.

> "It's funny that, you know, the morale - O.K.. The worry that the staff felt as to what was happening. The concern that they had with the clients. I mean, in that month and a half [January and February/87], I saw my son's behavior go up. His behavioral problems go up. Because one drastic thing about these kids is that they maybe handicapped, he maybe retarded, but they're not stupid. They can sense change. They can sense mood change. They know when something's not right. And they react to it, you know" (P-D: 5).

The parents, therefore, were concerned that the impact of the fiscal restraint might result in a regression from the developmental and behavioral advances made by their children.

Because of the close working relationship between many of the parents and staff, the parents were included in the emergent network of many of the staff. A couple of the parents stated that they have indeed been contacted by staff once the rumors of cutbacks occurred. Those parents who were contacted became quite supportive of the staff.

> Parent: "For instance, I had staff phone me in the evening that had gotten really upset. They felt they were going to lose their job and they were talking about striking, walking - stuff like that.
>
> Yet, [though] I did [receive] lots [of calls], I saw some of my part was to try and calm them down because I thought a strike was a drastic situation. I felt that if they striked, it would be over for sure. So I tried to make sure that they wouldn't do that.
>
> Yeah, there's some staff that I feel very close to, and I will go out of my way to try and help them out."
>
> Researcher: "Was the letter to the Minister to try and balance that?"
>
> Parent: "Yeah, you've got to understand too, not only with

that - that's part of it - but alot of our problems have been very oriented into rumors and a lot of conjecture.

And we could never get anything concrete to any allegations, [to] what the staff are hearing, not only from what we are working with ED and the letter but they were hearing alot of different things."

Researcher: "Some of it was true and some weren't?"

Parent: "Some weren't, yeah."

Researcher: "Is there still quite and active rumor mill, from your perspective?"

Parent: "Yeah, I would say so. I'd also say that over 70% of that rumor mill has turned out to be true. So the way Friends of C.L.S. look at this is that we do not ignore rumors at all, until they are proven to be untrue" (P-D: 34-35).

Most parents, on the other hand, did not receive any calls from staff even though they sensed that the staff were concerned.

Researcher: "If the staff feel that he ED really doesn't understand the implications of his decisions and yet he has the power, are they using the parents? Could they be using the parents to balance that power situation? Do you see what I'm saying?"

Parent: "They haven't because I think they fear for their jobs."

Researcher: "They think that if they do they would -"

Parent: "They're liable to be repercussions. [It's] liable to get back that someone told."

Researcher: "O.k., so you don't see it happening?"

Parent: "It hasn't" (P-I: 12-13).

Therefore, some parents were informed of the rumored cutbacks by the staff and some were not depending on the relationship between the parent and the staff. The rumors, however, traveled quickly among the parents once the word was out to the parents. The parents were very suspicious that the government might be trying to abdicate what they viewed as the government's societal responsibility to provide services to this population. Many parents connected these cutbacks with the previous attempt to privatize C.L.S.

> Parent: "... I mean, sometimes I don't catch everything [at the meetings]. But boy oh boy, when you talk privatization, my ears are - you know!"
>
> Researcher: "And your concern was because you thought that was the first step of getting rid of C.L.S.?"
>
> Parent: "Yep"
>
> Researcher: "In the sense of getting rid of the group home, the service?"
>
> Parent: "Right!" (P-D: 15).

This same parent elaborated on her comment further on in the interview

> "... I'm against privatization of C.L.S. because I also feel that the government has not done very few things right in the Department of Social Services in general - and especially with the handicapped. And once, just once, they have actually done something right. And they've had full support by parents, which never usually happens, that they should be proud of this type of service" (P-D: 26).

A number of the parents also had had bad experiences with private agencies. In their experience, private agencies wanted to focus on higher functioning clients. Since their children comprised one of the most difficult client groups to deal with, the parents found that the majority of private agencies did not wish to allocate their resources to a client group or to individuals that required a high staff/client ratio. These parents perceived these organizations as being more interested in trying to keep their costs down than in trying to develop and care for their children.

> Researcher: "What is the fear that the parents have with privatization?"

Parent: "That their children's lives will be turned upside down overnight."

Researcher: "In what way?"

Parent: "Well, moved out of where they are and into something else. Into a total different setting perhaps, and that may not get the care that they're getting now.

And that the parents may have to follow these strange stringent rules. Some of the fears are probably abstract. You know, those are the kinds of things that come to mind."

Researcher: "Why do they think that keeping things as it is, that keeping C.L.S. in government is better than privatizing?"

Parent: "Because government, I guess, can be monitored easier than private agencies. And that if there is a concern, that you can go to the Minister and you have somebody to voice your concern to. With a private agency they can potentially close the door on you and say goodbye" (P-I: 14).

Researcher: "What was the concern [regarding privatization]?"

Parent: "... one, that services would be reduced and secondly, that the criteria could change."

Researcher: "O.K., the criteria for services?"

Parent: "For remaining within the system."

Researcher: "So the entrance criteria could change, all of a sudden your son, for example, may not meet the criteria and then you're back wondering what to do with him?"

Parent: "They say, 'well he doesn't meet our criteria anymore. Take him home and make other arrangements'."

Researcher: "Do you think that was based on reality, or was that something that was just a fear that wasn't founded?"

Parent: "I think it was well founded."

Researcher: "Do you?"

Parent: "Yes I do."

Researcher: "Based on what?"

Parent: "Well if you look at the admission criteria for some of the private group homes that there are now, none of them would take Lisa [daughter]. None of them would take my daughter" (P-K: 32-33).

The parents therefore feared that once the government allowed the private sector to take over C.L.S., their children might well be discharged from the program inappropriately into their own homes or to an institution. Those parents whose children were admitted to C.L.S. from an institution attributed much of their children's progress to the deinstitutionalization process. They did not want their child reinstitutionalized. Those who had admitted their children to C.L.S. directly from their homes, knew they could not look after their children at home alone and also did not wish their children institutionalized. One parent described her visit to an institution as follows:

Parent: "It's a horror. I toured the whole place and it was sickening, sickening that these people are treated the way they are. I mean sixty to a ward. And, well, the day I went it was eighty [degrees] above, and they were all locked in this little room. And there were only two girls [staff] there" (P-D: 38-39).

It was for this reason that the parents quickly organized into a non-profit society and lobbied the Government directly during the previous privatization attempt. This resulted in a total retraction of the privatization plan for C.L.S.

Researcher: "What do you see is the purpose of Friends of C.L.S.?"
Parent: "Well it was formed during the privatization scare a couple of years back to fight that specifically. And now it appears to be more along the lines of a watchdog, to see, you know, what is happening. What are the policy setters in C.L.S. doing? What's the trends of the government? Are they planning on going more towards privatization? More cutbacks?" (P-I: 1).

The parents, therefore, decided to retain the Friends of C.L.S. Society as a lobbying group even after ED established the Parent Advisory Committee (P.A.C) to facilitate communication between the strategic managers and the parents. The parents viewed the parent representatives on the P.A.C. as reporting back ~~to~~ the Friends of C.L.S. which they perceived as being comprised of all the parents whose children were in the group home (B-A: 2). The parents viewed the Friends of C.L.S. as the major support and 'therapeutic' group to which the elected parent representatives reported.

> Parent: "They [the government] get too busy and they get to passing the buck so that you can't get to them. This is why we finally set up our organization. And we are having trouble enough as an organization making them understand. One person, well this is what was happening, different parents were going to them and getting nowhere."
>
> Researcher: "So that's why you formed the Friends of C.L.S.?"
>
> Parent: "This was one of the reasons that we formed an organization. And we have not gone to the press, we have not gone public, we have tried to keep our interaction between the Social Services - well ED and this management group - management and ourselves."
>
> Researcher: "Also the Minister?"
>
> Parent: "As far as Connie Osterman [Minister of Social Services] is concerned there is no use even talking to her. You can't get near her, you phone and phone and phone and phone and you get nothing. It all has to go through the other channels. And the trouble is too many channels and you loose the whole content and context of what you are trying to get through.
>
> Neil Webber [former Minister of Social Services] you could get to. We had a meeting with Neil Webber and we had a very successful meeting. In fact that's what stopped privatization" (P-E: 10).

Another parent described the difference between the P.A.C. and the Friends of C.L.S. as follows:

Parent: "The Advisory [Committee] tends to be task oriented. It's more of a select group because there's only supposed to be one per group home. So it tends to try and be task oriented. Friends of C.L.S. is a therapeutic group. You know, you can cry to Friends of C.L.S. sort of thing. It's sort of a support group of parents in which you can rattle on and on and on about your particular child.

[In] the Advisory [Committee] we're trying to get away from that because that is one of the big problems with parents - is that they want to weep and wail about something that has happened to their particular child - which redestroys anything constructive happening."

Researcher: "In terms of helping advising ED?"

Parent: "Yeah, its fairly new and last year it didn't work out very well at all."

Researcher: "Why not?"

Parent: "I think that ED was very defensive. He felt as though we were trying to take over his position. He wasn't appreciating the fact the parents have something really unique to give.

C.L.S. has always pushed, advocated, desired parental involvement and once that group was started it was realized that parental involvement that they wanted consisted of taking your child home for the weekend, buying your child clothes, and giving them money.

Well, those sorts of things were things that I thought were being already dealt with and I guess they aren't always. You know, I for one do not take my child home on the weekend, hopefully, I should do that granted, but I don't, I'm really awful."

Researcher: "I never said that."

Parent: "Well I say that. Anyway, the thing is that they wanted parental involvement, but once it came constructively with ideas on how to run this organization, he ED was very defensive ... " (P-H: 6).

As noted by the parent above, once the rumors of fiscal restraints and group home closures started circulating among the parents, the parents channelled their questions and concerns through the P.A.C. They viewed

ED's responses, however, with suspicion. They felt that he was not being entirely open or honest with them.

Parent: "This is the way I look at it: People that we worked with - within C.L.S. and above - that I thought were really good and we had a good working relationship, actually out and out lied to us. And I felt that I could never trust that person. Even if it's a little fib, you know, I'd rather they would have said, 'I don't know. I really don't know where we're going or what we're doing'.

So I have difficulty working with [those] people - there are about four or five of them within the government - only they're higher. They're not in the group home."

Researcher: "Are you talking just generally, about the director level at C.L.S., or the regional manager, or - ?"

Parent: "I would say the director and up" (P-D: 8-9).

Many of the other parents interviewed also stated that ED had interpreted their queries as an attempt to become involved in the managing of the organization. The parents, however, viewed their own questioning as an attempt to ensure that the security and quality of care for their children was not about to be compromised.

Parent: "Well, it isn't that we demanded that much at meetings. We definitely did when we heard - we didn't hear through the committee that these cutbacks were coming. We got it through the media and through the newspaper."

Researcher: "Is that why you say that communication broke down?"

Parent: "Yes. There is a communication breakdown and there is a time that I think that ED should definitely say, 'O.K. look, this and this is going to come down'. And then we can ask to see how this is going to work - [e.g.] with taking away a fulltime houseparent, with taking away this, and taking away that.

There were so many things that they were taking away. I have walked into that group home on a weekend where there is only two staff working with seven adult clients. That I don't like!" (P-F: 2).

The parents resorted back to the Friend's of C.L.S. as a means of making their concerns known directly to the provincial Minister of Social Services.

The parents therefore viewed their concerns as centering around the quality of care for their children.

> Parent: "I mean, here, are children, our main concern is 'what is it going to do to their daily lives? What is it going to do to their I.P.P. programs?' You know, the other sets of things that are part of their daily routine."
>
> Researcher: "So it provided another issue for parents to organize around and discuss?"
>
> Parent: "Definitely. I mean if you had a son or daughter there, I would imagine that you would act similarily" (P-B: 5).

On the whole, the parents felt that the loss of group home staff and in particular, the reduction of the houseparent position to halftime, would have meant that the same amount of work had to be done by a reduced number of manpower and would result in the lowering of the standards of care for their children. Although they welcomed the fact that the supervisors were now spending more time in the homes, they were concerned that the staff would have to lower their standards of care. For example, parents expressed concern that staff might have to resort to T.V. dinners instead of home cooked meals, that they would reduce the number of outings and cut back the developmental programs for their children due to the resulting lack of time. The following parent's response was quite typical.

> Parent: "One of the things that we are frustrated about is the fact that they [management] have cut back on the lines. You know, the regular frontline staff where the work

is being done, they are now expecting two people to do the work of three.

In many cases you've got a day when the kids are all home and you've got two people on staff. This is ridiculous! It takes two people to lift some of those patients.

When you take Mike to the bathroom, there is no supervision left for the other children."

Researcher: "Yeah?"

Parent: "And what's going to eventually happen is something is going to go wrong and then the government is going to be faced with a law suit. But I think that is what is going to have to happen before they will smarten up" (P-E: 7).

The parents, therefore, became a political force in the organization's environment. They were an interest group pressing to retain the status quo for their children because they were very pleased with the progress their children had made in C.L.S. They also viewed C.L.S. as a permanent home for their children and thus expressed surprise at the notion that their child might graduate from C.L.S.

Parent: "I mean five years later I'm finding out that one of C.L.S.'s intentions was to take kids that are dependently handicapped and work with them and get them to the point where they could go back home again, you know. I mean who ever knew that! .... ."

Researcher: "So your expectation was that this was her [daughter's] life?"

Parent: "This was her permanent home. And that was every parent's expectation without fail. Nobody ever considered taking their child back home.

Well, the thing is if that had been their intention they would have mentioned it. I would have told Don [a former manager], 'forget it! If you want to take kids and put them back in their home, you're choosing the wrong population here'. You know kids have got to be higher functioning than that.

So I mean these kinds of things - they needed to give some sort of an orientation. What is C.L.S. about?

> What do you want from me? Nobody even told me they wanted twenty bucks a month or whatever. Nobody told me what was expected in terms of medical care, dental care, nothing" (P-H: 9).

The parents therefore, viewed their children's developmental programs as merely a means of enhancing their quality of life in the group homes. The vast majority of parents, therefore, did not expect their children to move out of the homes. Many felt that they had either been misled by the management of that management just did not share this vision.

> Parent: "I want a permanent home for Darren that offers the kind of loving care that he needs. I can supplement that, but as I get older I won't be able to replace it.
>
> And I need the assurance that he is not going to be just custodially looked after. This is RM's idea. I know this is what he feels - all we need is custodial care. Now that is not true! Maybe all RM needs is a minimal salary to make him realize that perhaps there are other things in life that I think they [the children] are entitled to.
>
> I would like to see them have as good a life as they can. Adequate care, but more importantly, good emotional care" (P-E: 27).

The parents therefore, perceived that the cutbacks should have focused on the managerial and strategic managerial levels of the organization (these were also the levels with which they were the least familiar). For example, many did not see the need for both a Program Director and a Director above the home supervisor. According to one parent:

> Parent: "Parents get lost - by the time you figure out who they [management] are, what they're supposed to do, and the next thing that you know they're gone. So we start all over again. See, you never know. I don't waste time trying to find out who is there and who is not. If I have a complaint I tell my complaint."
>
> Researcher: "Tell who?"
>
> Parent: "I tell the staff. I complain and I'll reinforce it

> by saying please but that in a communication book [in the group home]" (P-G: 8-9).

These concerns were communicated both directly to the Minister through the Friend's of C.LS. and to ED via the P.A.C..

The organizational response to this pressure was to review, revise and reaffirm the P.A.C. as a representative means for parental input. During the P.A.C. meetings which were held during this time both the parents and ED appeared to welcome the strengthening of the parental power in the P.A.C. itself. ED appeared to be quite happy to relinquish the chairmanship of P.A.C to the chairman and vice-chairman elected by the parent representatives. Other parents however, viewed this differently.

> "He [ED] wants to take over. He can't handle the fact that Kathy is actually the chairperson. He wants to take over, and I think it's important that Kathy be the chairperson" (P-H: 33).

Thus the election of a parent as chairman and vice-chairman was viewed by the parents as more of a victory for them in an ongoing power struggle.

> Parent: "To tell you the truth, I think that maybe C.L.S. itself as an organization, is a little resentful to have this watchdog organization breathing down it's neck. It probably has enough problems internally with budget issues and cutbacks and staff layoffs and things - let alone having to deal with these angry parents. You know, so what they have done in the last couple of meetings is kind of come in and run the meeting."
>
> Researcher: "What? The Parent Advisory Committee or C.L.S.?"
>
> Parent: "C.L.S. has come in and sort of - they haven't really - it hasn't been a two way, you know a cooperative effort. It's been, you know, C.L.S. sort of running the meeting, telling them what it's going to be and

not really opening the door to them to contribute very much."

Researcher: "So it has been a bit of a conflict model?"

Parent: "Yes, and they have also been trying to break it up, I think. They've been trying to insinuate that the people that are running the Parent Advisory Committee or the ones that are active in it aren't really a good representation of the rest of the parents."

Researcher: "Do you think that they are though - running the Parent Advisory Committee?"

Parent: "People on the committee aren't a good representative. The thing is they are the same faces that have been around for a couple of years. They are the more vocal members of the group. They're the members that want to be active, and they're the ones that, you know, will get under these guys' skin. So we took a vote at our last meeting and we're happy with them. We're glad that they're there doing that" (P-I: 2).

It appeared therefore, that although the organizational political system was re-aligned to facilitate the formal communication between the strategic managers and the parents by strengthening the parental involvement and control of the P.A.C; the parents themselves strengthened their position by re-legitimating the current parent representatives on the P.A.C. and by voting to retain the Friend's of C.L.S. as another means to influence the bureaucratic and political policy makers directly.

In summary, the parents had become a significant political pressure in the organization environment of C.L.S. Their interests were made manifest via both the P.A.C. and the Friends of C.L.S.. Their major concern was to provide support for the status quo for their children. This concern was based on a fear of losing a good thing, guilt for having and not being able to care for a handicapped child, and fear of having to deal with a private agency which might well eventually send their child home again. The uncertainty created by these fears was exacerbated by a breakdown in the communication between the parents and the strategic managers which, from the perspective of the parents, increased their feelings of a lack of trust in the strategic managers. They particularly viewed ED as both not understanding their children and as being more concerned with living within the agency budget and following the orders he received from the bureaucracy, than in the welfare of the children themselves. They were afraid that if they did not make their concerns known via all the means they had at their disposal, that their children would receive a much lower quality of service or they would eventually be asked to take their children home and look after them themselves - a task for which they felt they had neither the knowledge, energy, nor resources.

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

CHAPTER 11

THE CASE STUDY AND THE FRAMEWORK

Analytical Summary

C.L.S. as an organization had developed during the time of plenty. Not only were economic resources plentiful due to the royalties generated by sky rocketing oil prices and a boom in the agricultural industries of the province, but an election of a Conservative Government which highlighted a platform of social reforms resulted in a high degree of currency and legitimation for the development of government-based human service organizations which enabled the government to realize its campaign promises. These political and economic forces were complemented by a cultural force which was based on the belief that the professions within the social sciences had developed to the degree which allowed the mentally handicapped to now be treated and trained in the community. It was felt that the values underlying the concept of normalization could be achieved by allocating sufficient resources to this area. "Normalization" became the key value and "deinstitutionalization" the key objective.

The development of C.L.S. provided an excellent vehicle to reconcile both the Conservative political philosophy of encouraging families to look after their own affairs and the professional philosophy of normalization to achieve the promised social reform of deinstitutionalization. C.L.S. would show that even the most dependent of the handicapped could be maintained and developed within a community setting. Families would no longer have to send their children away. They could not only remain involved with their child but could also continue to direct that child's development.

C.L.S. then, developed a technical system which enabled the clients to live and develop in the community. The parents and guardians became an integral part of the organizational political system in the group homes (operational and managerial level). The cultures within the group homes supported the ideal that these were the homes of the clients and the role of staff was to enable the client to develop to the maximum of their potential. The group homes, therefore, developed very organic technical, political and cultural systems. The differing and even contradictory values of the clients' families were acknowledged and tolerated to a high degree. Conflicting perspectives were tolerated and in fact encouraged on the 'core team' to generate innovative programs and means to meet the needs of the client. The I.P.P.'s enabled each client to have his/her own tailor-made program. The criteria for success were psychologically and socially based.

C.L.S. was structured to facilitate these highly organic client and family oriented processes. The differentiation of the two units enabled the sharing of common concerns among supervisors who were grappling with common issues and resources (i.e., children vs. adult clients). Each unit also identified a person to scan the professional and academic environments to ensure that the most up-to-date relevant information was channeled to the supervisors and staff. The idiosyncratic managerial styles of the two program directors reinforced the differences between the two units. However, many of the supervisors of both units kept in touch with each other on an informal rather than formal basis.

The types of persons occupying the office of the executive director for the organization also went through changes. During the initial phases, the organization was directed by individuals who were motivated by visions of not only bringing the mentally handicapped closer to their families but also in enabling them to integrate into normal society. They believed in what C.L.S. was doing and actively defended requests for more resources and the over expenditures of the agency to those in the bureaucracy.

As other organizations in the voluntary non-profit sector developed similar programs, and as economic resources became less plentiful, those in the bureaucracy began to question the efficiency and effectiveness of C.L.S. Numerous evaluations were conducted on C.L.S. These evaluations revealed that C.L.S. was indeed a very effective organization, in the sense that the clients were making remarkable progress. But as the economic environment became more restrictive, those in the bureaucracy questioned the efficiency of this organization. The categories they used to observe the outcomes of C.L.S. appeared to fall into two categories: inter-group criteria (i.e., how does this target population compare with other target populations in similar situations), and inter-program criteria (i.e., how are other organizations were dealing with similar populations, the number of clients other programs had 'graduated', the cost per client in these programs as compared to those in C.L.S.). These criteria then, differed greatly from the psychological and interactional outcome criteria utilized by the operational and managerial staff as measures of success.

The parents, on the other hand, were encouraged to and became more and more involved in guiding the services of their individual child. As the key member of the core team and the only member of the team with veto power, the parents retained control over their child's life. Each child then was developed and cared for in a manner consistent with the familial and parental values - as opposed to being socialized using professional or institutional values (Christie, 1986).

The guardianship legislation introduced in 1978 by the Province provided a process through which parents could retain authority over the personal decision making of their dependant adults once the courts determined the areas in which the individual was unable to make decisions in his/her best interests. This legislation enabled the guardian of this individual to use the family's and individual's value system to determine what was in the best interest of the dependent adult (Christie, 1984). The organic organizational political system at the operational, managerial and program unit levels were in alignment with this legislation.

Over time, the parents and guardians developed an expectation of remaining involved with and advocating for their children to the degree to which they felt they could. They also became comfortable with the level of services their children were receiving and, on the whole, expected them to remain in the homes on a permanent basis. When they perceived threats to these expectations, they quickly organized to ascertain more complete and accurate information. They lobbied on behalf of the clients and themselves to ensure that the best interest of the clients, as they perceived them to be, were made known to the decision makers. Though they agreed that the economic times had changed and more efficient measures had to be undertaken by the organization, they disagreed with the solution imposed by the bureaucrats.

The announcement by the government of the new fiscal targets required the strategic level managers within the departmental bureaucracy to quickly develop alternate ways of meeting this imposed target. The guidelines they received still allowed for many options. The short time frame within which decisions were to be made, required a mechanistic decision making structure within the bureaucracy. The validity of the predicted outcomes of the various alternatives, however, depended on the accuracy of their information.

To obtain accurate information, the strategic level bureaucrats required the input of those providing the services. Thus an organic strategy was chosen to obtain this input and a mechanistic strategy was selected to actually formulate the decision. Those providing the input were not entirely aware of the criteria that were being used to judge the adequacy of the various alternatives. Also, as this information sifted upwards through the bureaucracy, the middle managers removed those alternatives which they perceived as not meeting the criteria for selection. An additional confounding variable was that the broad criteria provided by the Government for the selection of appropriate reduction scenarios did not change. How these criteria were interpreted for specific scenarios did change, however, as the bureaucratic strategic managers received the input.

The decision making process then became an iterative process at the bureaucratic strategic managerial level. An organic strategy thus emerged which resulted in the top three managerial levels of the bureaucracy operating on more of a collegial rather than mechanistic basis. The Regional Directors, Assistant Deputy Ministers, and the Deputy Minister operated as a decision making team since the ramifications of the final decision depended on the collective impact it had in the various programs and regions. Only the Regional Directors and A.D.M.'s had the information that could predict the implications for their areas.

Since different solutions had different ramifications and since the different ramifications required different types of information, the bureaucratic strategic managers met quite frequently during this period - issuing requests to their programs for different types of information as different questions arose. From the perspective of the C.L.S. managers, these fiscally related questions emanating from their organizational environment heightened the sense of uncertainty within their organization.

To try and deal with this uncertainty, RM requested ED to devise a variety of alternatives for a variety of scenarios. Thus ED was initially requested to quickly develop alternatives for five and ten percent cut scenarios. Later, he was asked to develop alternatives for three percent, eight percent and twelve percent cut scenarios. Since ED himself also felt that he did not have sufficient knowledge to predict the effects of cuts, he requested the input of the other strategic managers and those at the managerial level who in turn requested information from the operational level staff. In a very short time, all members of the client 'core teams' became aware of the request for information (including the parents).

A great deal of uncertainty was created by the request for input. The C.L.S. staff, who were accustomed to the organic decision making style used for client programming in the group homes, wished to influence as well as provide input for a decision. Both the operational and managerial level staff perceived ED as having the power to influence the ultimate decision. They were uncomfortable, however, both with ED's commitment to advocate for the organization and with the limited degree of knowledge they perceived he possessed regarding the effects of a number of the options on the clients. They perceived him as favoring a reduction in the number of houseparents which they viewed as part of the direct care staff. This also became one of the major concerns of the parents.

The suggestions as to where to make the cuts appeared to be based on the degree to which persons understood what those in other roles did. The operational level staff supported cuts in the managerial (e.g. one supervisor for two group homes) and strategic managerial positions (e.g. have the program directors report directly to the region eliminating the executive director). The managerial level staff basically supported the status quo. However when pressed, they viewed cuts in the administrative support area (e.g. financial and personnel clerks and secretaries), the program support areas (e.g. eliminating the program consultant and program specialist), and the strategic managerial area (e.g. eliminating either the program director positions or the executive director position).

The strategic managers were divided. The program directors proposed cuts in the headquarter positions (e.g. reintroducing privatization by eliminating the headquarters and having every two group homes run by a community board). ED supported changes which would reduce the manpower difference between the adult and childrens services unit (the adult homes had one extra T.A. position to aid in lifting) and the amount of houseparent resources, which he viewed as not being involved in direct client care. He also proposed some reductions in the administrative support staff.

The major motivating variable underlying these differing or opposing suggestions for accommodating the imposed fiscal reduction appeared to be the threat of strategic change. All of the participants except ED and the bureaucrats believed that a change from a developmental to a maintenance focus in the organization would have a deleterious effect on the residents. They therefore recommend changes in the other organizational components (i.e. organizational structure and human resource management) to allow C.L.S. to continue to implement the developmental mission and strategy within the fiscal reductions.

Once ED announced that his scenario had been chosen (by RM on the advice of ED), the parents decided to take a more confrontational strategy. This was perceived by those in the bureaucracy (and particularly in the region) as an attempt by the parents to interfere with the management of the organization.

As a result of this confrontive strategy, however, the organization's political system was re-aligned. The relationship between the organization and the parents as a collectivity, was reviewed, revised and formalized. Different channels of communication were developed for different reasons. The parents were encouraged to deal directly with their key worker and group home supervisor regarding their concerns about their individual child. A parent-controlled newsletter was legitimated and supported by the organization to provide a vehicle to disseminate information and discuss organizational, parental, and group home issues. The chairmanship and control of the agenda for the Parent Advisory Committee was assumed by parents. Finally, parents agreed that it was indeed up to the managers to run the organization but they requested ED to acknowledge and consider their input when making decisions. The parents however, did decide to retain the Friend's of C.L.S. as a means of advocating directly outside the organization on a political basis.

Figure 14 below summarizes these events, dynamics and stated motives utilizing Tichy's concepts.

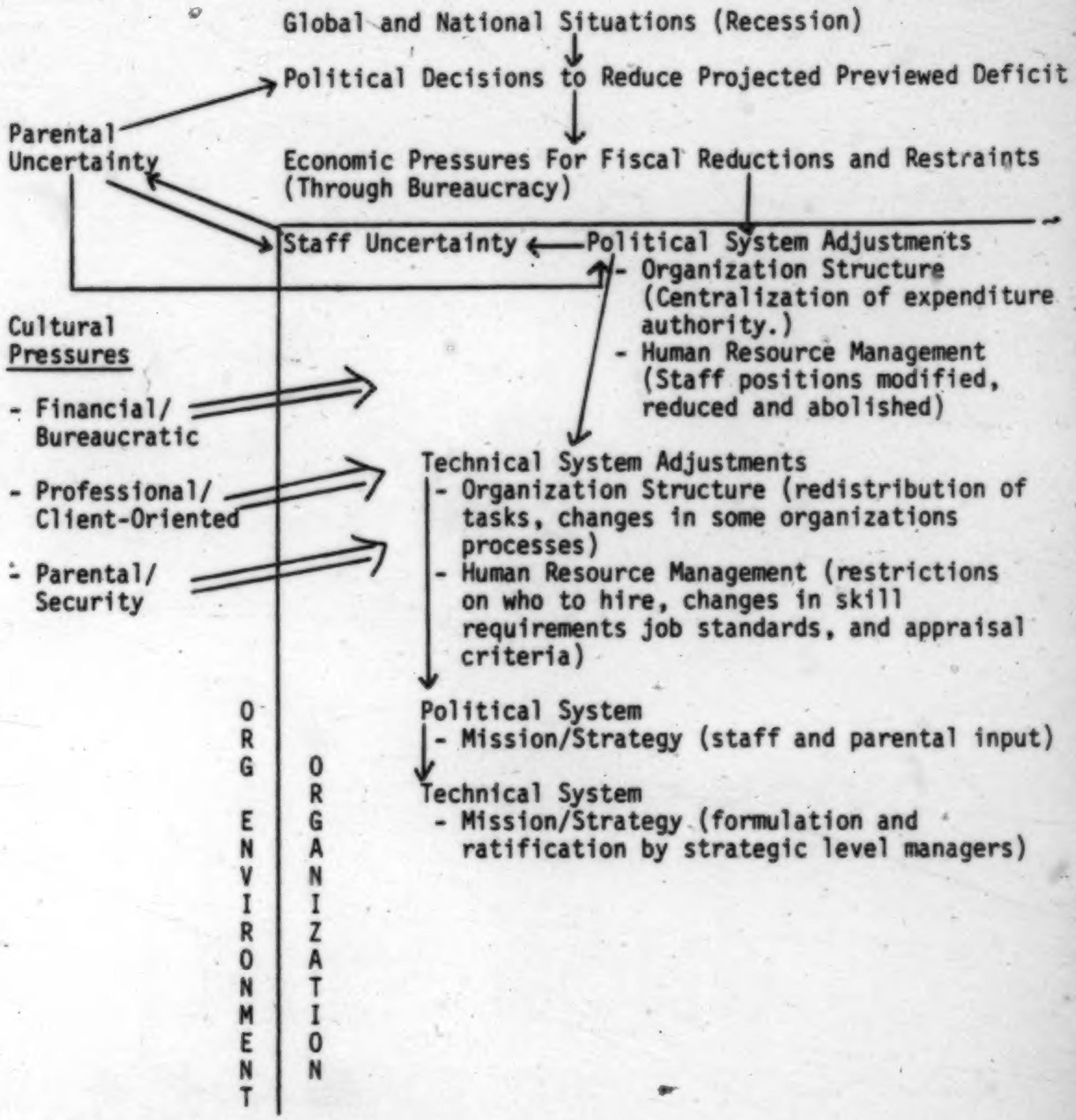
Global and National Situations (Recession)
Political Decisions to Reduce Projected Previewed Deficit
Parental Uncertainty
Economic Pressures For Fiscal Reductions and Restraints (Through Bureaucracy)
Staff Uncertainty
Political System Adjustments
- Organization Structure (Centralization of expenditure authority.)
- Human Resource Management (Staff positions modified, reduced and abolished)
Cultural Pressures
- Financial/ Bureaucratic
- Professional/ Client-Oriented
- Parental/ Security
Technical System Adjustments
- Organization Structure (redistribution of tasks, changes in some organizations processes)
- Human Resource Management (restrictions on who to hire, changes in skill requirements job standards, and appraisal criteria)
Political System
- Mission/Strategy (staff and parental input)
Technical System
- Mission/Strategy (formulation and ratification by strategic level managers)
ORG ENVIRONMENT
ORGANIZATION

Figure 14. Chronology of Events

In summary, Figure 14 demonstrates that the economic pressures imposed upon C.L.S. emanated from a political decision to change the strategy within the public sector in an attempt to deal with the effects of th national and world wide economic recession. The effect within C.L.S. was to quickly develop, with staff input, four scenarios as alternatives to how resources could be reallocated to continue within the current mission and strategy of the organization. The degree of appeal for each of the four scenarios differed among the various groups within the organization. Uncertainty was therefore generated as to which scenario would be chosen. The chosen scenario had implications for who was going to remain within the organization and who would be asked to leave or reduce their services. These added to staff uncertainty - particularly at the operational level since these persons had the most to lose and the least amount of organizational power.

The close relationship between the operational level staff and the parents which was generated by a long term involvement of parents in the services of their children resulted in the parents being informed of the potental changes before the strategic level managers related the information to them. This created an increase in parental uncertainty resulting in an attempt by the parents to firstly seek more information from the strategic managers, then attempt to influence the managerial decisions and finally to directly influence the Minister who they perceived to be the instigator of the change and the person with the power to exempt or minimize the pressures for fiscal reduction on C.L.S. one of the major causes of uncertainty among the parents and the client oriented staff at all three levels of the organization was the fear that the mission and strategy of the organization might change from a developmental to a custodial focus - a change which they could not legitimize with their current strongly entrenched values.

Once the decision was made as to who was staying, who was leaving, and who was being cut back to meet the fiscal target (i.e., a projected deficit of eighty five thousand dollars ($85,000.00)), tasks were redistributed and organizational processes changed on an immediate, short term and long term basis. This in turn, resulted in a change in the descriptions, skills required, and appraisal criteria used to evaluate those in all three levels of the organization.

Arising from these technical system changes, questions were raised as to the effect they had on the mission statement. Staff at all levels requested to provide input into the formulation of a new mission statement. This input was utilized by the strategic level managers to formulate a new mission statement which rationalized the changes that had occurred, reconfirmed the original purpose of the organization, and set the direction for the development of goals and objectives for the up coming year.

The Propositional Expectations

The major focus of this study was to examine the impact of an exogenously generated fiscal reduction on groups of organizational stakeholders using Tichy's analytical framework. Propositional expectations 1 proposed the following:

> "a change in the economic force of the organizational environment will require the strategic level managers of the organization to first focus on decision for change within the technical system".

The results of this case study support this expectation. The order of occurrence, however, appears to be somewhat different than what is implicated by Tichy in figure 6 above. This figure implies that changes in the organization environment would trigger changes in the mission and strategy of the organization which then create interactive changes among the organization structure and human resource management components.

In this situation, the strategic level managers focused first on changes in the differentiation of tasks within the organization structure. Implications for the mission statement of the organization were examined after the fact. It was in fact the implied change in the mission/strategy of the organization from developmental to maintenance care that was underlying the arguments made by the operational and managerial level staff. The uncertainty created by the shift in tasks which were necessitated by the manpower reductions was finally reduced when all stakeholders were invited to provide input to the new mission statement and the new mission ratified incorporating this input.

In this case, therefore, the mission statement appeared to legitimize the new redistribution of tasks within the technical system rather than guide the changes. In fact, one of the greatest concerns expressed by those at all three levels of the organization was that changes within the technical system were made by the executive director to accommodate the economic reductions directly without any reference to the mission statement. The threat of an implied change to the mission statement therefore became a major source of uncertainty.

Expectations two stated:

> "The impact of the changes in the technical system will require the strategic managers to focus on the political system to see if this system needs to be realigned".

The results of the study indicate that the highly organic political system was in alignment with the organic model of service delivery in the technical system. The political system was designed to examine the client's needs from many perspectives and develop innovative programs that would best meet his or her needs at this stage of development. The expectation derived from this system was that everyone, regardless of bureaucratic rank or role, was encouraged to provide their input no matter how conflicting or contradictory.

The reduction in fiscal resources, however, required a single specific solution in a short time frame. It was directed from the top down as opposed to the bottom-up flow of information and decisions utilized in the client oriented service system. The lack of power to make or influence decisions as perceived by the operational and managerial level staff, resulted in the generation of a fair amount of uncertainty.

Formal awareness of this uncertainty occurred approximately five and a half months after the implementation of technical system changes. It was identified by CPD at the management team meeting where she questioned the leadership of themselves as a group.

The other strategic managers, however, appeared reticent to tackle this problem directly. The political system was brought more in alignment with the organic expectations of the staff and parents, however, through two processes. First, ED gradually became convinced that the organization had become as lean as it could be with its current mission and programs. The only other option that he felt was available was to start closing down group homes. He invited the two program directors to attend regional planning meetings with him and with their support started to advocate for the agency (i.e., represent the agency in the region rather than the region in the agency).

Secondly, the role, structure and influence of the Parent Advisory Committee was re-examined, restructured and legitimated. The parents took over the chairmanship of the committee and established and the organizationally legitimated formal communication mechanism (i.e., the newsletter) with the rest of the parents. This reinforced the perception that the parents on the P.A.C. were representative of all of the parents. They also clarified the distinction between advising the managers of C.L.S. and their role of advocating for the organization as a whole. The former they allocated to the P.A.C.; for the latter they retained Friend's of C.L.S.

The strategic managers, on the other hand, realized that the concerns that the parents channeled through the P.A.C. were to be used as input in decision making. They came to believe that the parents were not attempting to collectively manage the organization but were rather seeking a vehicle which would facilitate their input and allow them to question the managers and hold them accountable for their decisions. The parents, therefore, did expect the strategic managers to explain the reasons for their decisions relative to the parents' concerns if they did not make a decision congruent with the parents' suggestions. The second expectation therefore was supported.

Expectation three was as follows:

> "Given a high value consensus the cultural system will undergo the least amount of attention and change as the group of stakeholders in the organization try to interpret and justify their decisions utilizing the same values and assumptions used previously to provide a sense of historical continuity and evolution".

This expectation also appears to be supported by the results of the study. All of the stakeholders involved agreed that care of the clients was paramount. Differences occurred regarding the interpretation of what would be an acceptable standard of care. ED perceived that the technical changes required by the fiscal restraints would only lengthen the time period required to meet the developmental goals. He also did not view the houseparents as direct care personnel, but rather as a luxury for the group home staff. He justified his actions by interpreting the principles of normalization to mean that everyone should pitch in to help with the cleaning, laundry and cooking just like they do in a normal family.

The staff at the operational and managerial level as well as the two program directors took exception to his perception. They viewed 'normalization' through the screens provided by their professional paradigm. From their perspective the quality of services provided for the clients was at the minimal level already. Although ready to look at changes in processes and the redistribution of tasks within the technical system, they justified their recommendations for managerial and support service cuts on the belief that the "client should come first" - Which to them meant continuing to develop rather than just maintain the residents' abilities.

The results of the case study also showed that C.L.S. as an organization was highly segmented. This segmentation resulted in a limited flow of information between group homes, between units and between the three levels of the organization. This was reinforced by the sub-cultures of the organizational units. For example, each group home ran as a complete unit. The supervisors were involved in the establishment of client as well as staff goals, recruitment and appraisal of staff, and staff orientation. Thus incoming employees would only be exposed to their own group home. Their perceptions of the rest of the organization were created from the information they received from their colleagues, the supervisors or from the relatively rare visits of the executive and program directors.

The managerial styles of the two unit directors was also different. CPD's style was quite organic, supporting group discussion and group decision making. APD's style was more task oriented. Though they both believed very strongly in their professional values, their different managerial styles were reflected in the sub-cultures of their two units.

There was also a cultural split at the strategic level. Both program directors viewed ED and BM as non-professionals in the sense that they were not trained in behavioral analysis. They appeared to be quite selective in terms of the type of information they gave ED. Although ED stated that he had an open door policy, he mentioned that very few of the supervisors seemed to take advantage of it. This appeared to be justified particularly in the adult services unit by a belief that ED might misinterpret the information he had received directly from the supervisors and therefore not act in the best interest of the clients.

All stakeholder groups stated the budget cutbacks as a major issue during the study period. Although their stated reasons differed to some degree, their reasons were based on a concern for the welfare of the clients. The personal service professionals feared that the quality of service would be allowed to deteriorate from a developmental to maintenance level. Their apprehension that budgetary problems would be resolved at the expense of the clients' development and a lowering of their quality of life was also based on the historical belief in C.L.S. that the dignity of the client was linked to enabling them to develop to the maximum of their potential.

Although their concern for the clients did not always filter through to the other stakeholders the impersonal service strategic managers held the same basic belief. They also felt however that the efficiency of this service to clients could be drastically improved with only a minimal impact on effectiveness.

The fears of the personal service professionals and the parents were allayed somewhat by the 'new' mission statement. This statement both reaffirmed the previous mission and incorporated a value statement which was in line with the current and past organizational beliefs - thus providing a sense of historical continuity.

The fourth proposition was as follows:

> "Those stakeholders that fall outside of the hierarchy of the organization (i.e., the parents and legal guardians, and the bureaucrats) will endeavor to influence changes in the organizational systems first directly and if unsuccessful, then indirectly through trying to influence the political forces relevant to the organization".

The results of the study reveal that the economic forces as interpreted through the bureaucracy did affect the technical and political systems directly. The CLS strategic managers were not only given a specific target for fiscal reductions, but the changes they made within the technical system also had to be approved by those in the bureaucracy.

Representatives of the bureaucracy met directly with both the strategic and managerial level personnel in the organization. These special meetings were designed to diffuse misconceptions and allow the staff the opportunity to provide input directly. The bureaucrats also met with the parents as a group to clarify with them that they felt that the parental role as decision makers for their children did not entitle them to extend that function to the organization.

The parents on the other hand, tried to make clear their concerns regarding the effect of the restraint on the quality of care for their children. They first tried to influence the changes in the organizational system by contacting the staff, supervisors, and Executive Director directly. The parents then, tried to influence ED directly as a group in a confrontational meeting. After perceiving these attempts as failing, they tried to influence the political decision makers by writing the Minister directly. The Minister however, rather than meeting with the parents directly, utilized the resources of the bureaucracy to clarify and deal with the concerns outlined by the parents. This resulted in a meeting between representatives of the regional bureaucracy and the parent groups.

After approximately six months, the realignment of these forces appeared to be re-negotiated. The organization established mechanisms within the technical and political systems to accommodate the concerns generated by both the political forces of the parent interest group and the economic forces transmitted through the bureaucracy. The results of the case study therefore, support this expectation.

Conclusions and Critique of Tichy's Theory

According to Tichy, strategic change is "non-routine, non-incremental, and discontinuous change which alters the overall orientation of the organization and/or components of the organization" (Tichy, 1983: 17). Strategic change is necessary when the organization can no longer control the pressures of the organizational environment or satisfactorily respond to the pressures in the organization environment via their current technical, political or cultural systems. When this occurs, the organization must be transformed if it is to remain effective or survive.

This transformation develops around three themes: 1) Recognizing the need for revitalization which occurs when the strategic managers attempt to alert the organization to growing threats from the environment; 2) creating a new vision whereby these managers struggle to focus the organization's attention on a vision of the future that is exciting and positive; and 3) institutionalizing change where the managers seek to institutionalize a transformation to ensure that it will survive even when and if the strategic managers leave the organization (Tichy and Devanna, 1986). Transformational leaders institutionalize this vision by re-weaving the "strategic rope" which consists of the technical, political, and cultural "strands" in such a way that the bureaucracy in large complex organizations is made to drive the organizational goals (Ibid: 216).

According to Tichy the motivation to commence this 're-weaving' process is provided by the growing uncertainty created by the misalignments within and between the organizational systems. This case study confirms that this uncertainty did create stress and anxiety in the C.L.S. management and staff. To reduce this anxiety, both managers and staff endeavored to devise innovative procedural and structural changes to accommodate the reduction in fiscal resources.

Tichy, however, appears to imply that the change process is a top-down process initiated and resolved by the strategic managers. In this case study, the change and re-alignment processes were iterative processes that involved those at all levels of the organization.

This process also appeared to make more manifest functional 'buffer zones' which had been created in the organizations when resources were plentiful. These 'buffer zones' allowed the means-oriented and client-oriented sub-cultures and professionals to co-exist in relative harmony. For example, supervisors had the time and office space to collate and report the financial and statistical information to the strategic managers and still conduct their supervisory and other group home related duties.

This study reveals that the day-to-day work of the staff at all three levels, however, appeared to encourage a drifting apart of the expectations of the organizational stakeholders. Since the everyday experiences of these individuals differed, they developed different processes and structures to accommodate the pressures they viewed as important. These pressures were different for the operational staff than they were for the managers and strategic managers. Each level in the organization therefore created different methods to deal with these differing technical, political and cultural pressures. In fact, at times, one level's solution created additional pressures for another level (e.g., the program directors' decision to standardize the program format into a formalized I.P.P. process which created a lot of paper work for the group home staff and therefore reduced the time they could spend with the clients).

Those at each level therefore devised different strategies to deal with these pressures. These strategies often included protecting their everyday world experiences by filtering the information communicated to those in the next level(s). Through this process, individual expectations of the technical, political and cultural systems gradually drifted apart - in a classic example of the 'Boiled Frog Syndrome' (Kanter: 1984).

The 'buffer zones' facilitated the rationalization and co-existence of these differing expectations. For example, the supervisors spent many hours in their headquarter offices and away from the noise and demands in the group home to perform their 'administrative' tasks.

With the onslaught of the fiscal restraints, these buffer zones were drastically reduced, exposing the misalignments which had evolved within the technical, political and cultural systems. The 'expectational drift' which had occurred in the evolving everyday experiences of the management and staff was suddenly manifest. Those in all levels of the organization were shocked by the disruption. There was no longer the time or resources to meet both the perceived administrative and client needs in the manners in which all had become accustomed.

The changes required in the technical system required new expectations. This also called into question how these decisions were to be made - i.e., whether the current decision making and resource allocating processes were adequate to make the required changes. Concern also developed regarding the cultural system. The developmentally oriented values used to justify and legitimate the client-focussed decision making processes and the service delivery systems were being questioned by the Executive Director. This was heresy to the client oriented staff.

The misalignments between these systems appeared as an 'expectational rift'. Staff feared that no longer would the reduced level of care be construed as developmental and/or de-institutionalizing. They feared that a value based on living within the means would supplant the client based values underlying the mission of the organization. They feared that the lack of consideration they perceived ED and RM had given their input might evolve into an organizational trend whereby they would be excluded from providing input into future important decisions. The parents also honed in on these expectational rifts, demanding explanations and assurances from the strategic managers, bureaucrats, and the Minister.

Tichy's theory does not distinguish between these two types of misalignment. Based on the analysis of this case study, however, this distinction appears to be appropriate and useful. Uncertainty emanating from within system misalignment ('expectational drift') appears to be the result of the socialization processes individual employees undergo while conducting their everyday duties. Organizations which do not incorporate this 'learning on the job' information into their organizational information systems may be less effective than those who do because of the reduced congruence between individual and job situated expectations.

Strategies which may address 'expectational drifting' include thorough orientations and interactive staff development sessions which focus on job expectations and skills. The purpose of these sessions would be to identify and reduce any cognitive-dissonance (Festinger, 1957) between the expectations of the staff and their perceived demands of their jobs, as well as to increase the skills required to perform their duties. These sessions should include topics which highlight expectations and skills not only in the technical system, but also the political (e.g., how organizational decisions are made and the skills required to contribute or develop strategies to contribute to this process if they so desire) and cultural systems (e.g., why we are in this business, the societal need met by the organization).

'Expectational rifts' create uncertainty due to the misalignments between the systems. This is analogous to 'cognitive dissonance' on an organizational or group level. For example, the values inherent in the organizational culture or the underlying norms may no longer congruently justify or legitimate in whole or in part, what the organization is doing (i.e., technical system) or how decisions are made and resources allocated (i.e., political system). This may manifest itself in the evaluation of different information systems for different purposes and the unconscious screening out and/or misinterpretation of information as individuals endeavor to justify and legitimate organizational actions and activities. This could be particularily hazardous during the current predominantly unstable organizational milieu (Kanter and Stein, 1979: 373-386).

This case study demonstrates that Tichy's perspective can also be applied to organizations undergoing non-strategic change. Throughout the time period of this research, C.L.S. did not undergo a strategic change as defined by Tichy. Instead, the strategic managers adapted the organization to the pressures created by the fiscal restraints by adjusting the organization structure and human resource management components of the technical system and the organization structure of the political system. Although this did create uncertainty within the cultural system regarding the reversal of means and ends, these concerns were resolved through a re-affirmation of the past mission and strategy.

Although the changes were non-routine and perhaps even non-incremental (in the sense that they involved the reduction rather than expansion of staff and other resources), the change was rather small (only a 1.5% reduction of fiscal resources) and was continuous and congruent with the historical evolution of the organization. All four propositions were therefore supported even though the organizational change which occurred during the time frame of the research was not technically a strategic change in that all aspects of Tichy's theory were not fulfilled.

The six month time frame of this study, however, is a limitation of the research. For example, after the study had concluded the researcher had attended the parent general meeting in October 1987 to present and validate the results of the study with the parents. At this meeting, many parents openly complained to ED regarding the cleanliness of the homes and expressed concern regarding the nutritious value and timeliness of the meals in certain group homes. The parents of other group homes, however, stated that these areas seemed to be well within normal standards. This might well be an indication that at least in some of the homes a fulltime houseparent may be required. This in turn may require a new strategy to enhance the real autonomy of each of the group homes. This may eventually result in a strategic change (e.g., privatization of the homes or a complete decentralization of most of the authority to the group home level thus eliminating several levels of management). The study, therefore, may miss the more extended cycles in the organizational environment (e.g., the fifty-five year economic cycle) as well as the longer term effects of the organizational changes.

The purposes of the study however were fulfilled. In short, the exogenously generated fiscal reduction impacted the organizational stakeholders by developing in them the fear that a strategic change might occur that was fiscally oriented - to the detriment of the residents. Tichy's framework appears to adequately facilitate the examination of this impact. An ethnographic analysis of the results revealed that all substantive areas had been adequately categorized and their effects explained. Even though Tichy's Theory was generated from data from the profit and fee-generating non-profit sectors, it appears to be equally applicable to government sponsored and run human service organizations.

The theory appears to adequately identify and explain the effects of two contravening forces at work within bureaucracies. The theory was useful in examining how the bureaucratic organization endeavored to fulfill its raison d'etre of "doing the bidding of [political] associations" (Jaques, 1976) and at the same time "constitute one of the major houses of government, with power to initiate, amend, and veto actions proposed by other branches" (Lipset, 1968: 309). This study reveals how this bureaucratic organization realized the ends that the politicians directed it to achieve. It also portrays the symbiotic relationship which exist between the political and bureaucratic 'houses' of government. For example, the perceptions of the Minister involved were to a great degree, although not exclusively, filtered through the expectations and values of those in the bureaucracy. The response of the Minister to the letter from the parents was therefore based almost solely on the interpretations and recommendations of ED and those he reported through in the region.

Tichy's TPC Theory is based on the metaphoric perception of an organization as a "dynamic jig saw puzzle" (Tichy and Devanna, 1986). His ideal effective organization is one in which each of the three systems effectively and efficiently handle the information and decisions required by the corresponding pressures in the organization environment. This is accomplished either by influencing the exogenously generated forces directly or by changing one or more of the components within each of the systems. Ideally an effective and efficient organization is one in which all of the components in each of the three systems are all in alignment with each other. This means that there is a balance of time and resources expended both within and among the systems. This involves a consistent and congruent spread of these resources in order to sufficiently deal with the uncertainty created by the pressures in the organization environment.

A problem with this perspective is the high degree of interaction which occurs among these variables. A change in one component may or may not impact on another component. A change within one system may or may not require a change in another system. The theory's predictive value is increased only when those forces relevant at that time are creating a significant impact on the organization, or when issues which are deemed important to the organization at that point in time can be described in terms of the uncertainty it is creating in one or more particular components.

The experience derived from this research indicates that organizational stakeholders are most cognizant of technical and even political issues. The underlying values and assumptions which the stakeholders use to justify and legitimate their concerns are not as conscious. They however, can be obtained both through probing questions and through an inductive process from data generated via a participant - observational methodology. Thus once a problem has been identified and placed with the framework of Tichy's nine categories (i.e., the three components of the three systems), options in terms of minimizing or maximizing the impact on the other components and systems can be easily generated.

A second major criticism of Tichy's theory is that it assumes that organizations are ontologically realistic (i.e., that they exist as realities external to their stakeholders), epistemologically positivistic (i.e., that the knowledge of these organizations has a reality unto itself and is therefore capable of being transmitted), and views human nature as being determined by the environment.

The radical humanists who view organizations as subjective 'psychic prisons' would disagree with these assumptions. This is also true for the interpretive analysts who perceive organizations as a manifestation of man's construction of social reality. The advocates of this interpretive paradigm might suggest that since the individuals themselves are creating this reality, it is well within their power to change these social relations through an act of will. For example, Gareth Morgan (1986) has suggested that our theories and explanations of organizational life are based on metaphors that lead us to see and understand organizations in distinctive yet partial ways.

Morgan reports that the use of these metaphors severely influence the cognitive and perception patterns that pervades our understanding of the world generally. These metaphors exert a formative influence on science, on our language, on how we think, and on how we express ourselves on a day-to-day basis. They therefore highlight certain aspects of an organization at the expense of other and even contravening aspects. For example, describing organizations as if they were machines designed to achieve predetermined goals and objectives as smoothly and efficiently as possible, may conceal insights that are brought forward by viewing organizations as cultures where values, beliefs and other patterns of shared meaning guide organizational life. Morgan (1986) in fact has identified eight different metaphors that can be used to describe and analyse organizations.

Tichy's theory, therefore, appears to be appropriate and useful in situations where the societal social relations within the organizational environment remain essentially intact - that is, when the fundamental expectations of these relations remain unchanged. For example, since the industrial revolution, organizations in western society have been expected to develop and profit within an environment which is economically oriented. As argued by Ramos (1978), the market system meets only limited human needs and prescribes a particular type of society in which individuals are expected to perform in accordance with purposive-instrumental criteria. This differs significantly from the agrarian and fuedal societies which predated this era. Tichy's theory, therefore, facilitates organizations in our currently evolving western society to adapt to the changing economic/technical, political and cultural pressures. His framework appears to be appropriate for analysing and planning for changes within these organizations whether they be for-profit, fee-charging, non-profit, or non-fee-charging government run organizations.

A sociological criticism of Tichy's framework is that it is devised exclusively for the organizational world and therefore does not consider dynamics of societal change - i.e. why the pressures to which organizations must adapt are changing. Since it is based in functionalist theory, it not only shares the strengths but also the weaknesses of that paradigm. For example, the emergence of social movements and contravailing political forces are not explained. From an *organizational* perspective, the theory focuses on the analysis and adaptation of the organization to re-establish an equilibrium and consensus with these societal movements. The generation of these movements themselves is not explained. The theory also assumes organizations must conform to rather than contradict these societal forces. It is based on the premise that to survive one must adapt or conform to these changes rather than allowing the contradictions to manifest themselves to the point where they become obvious and incite revolution to free man from, what others perceive, is the coercive nature of the economic domination and orientation of western post-industrial society.

CHAPTER 12

HUMAN SERVICES AND FISCAL CRISIS IN ADVANCED CAPITALISM

Peculiarities of the Case Study

This study of the impact of managerial decisions on a human service organization which is experiencing a negative change in the economic pressure within its organizational environment, was characterized by certain peculiarities. As in most human service organizations, the major strategy utilized by C.L.S. to deliver its services was based on the concept of professionalism. The major allocation of resources, therefore, was designed to facilitate the delivery of services through the personal service professionals in the group homes.

The technology utilized by these professionals, however, was quite simple and uniform. After a resident's abilities and disabilities were assessed, developmental goals were established which were considered feasible for achievement within a one year period. These goals usually consisted of learning essential life and interactional skills to the degree to which they were capable. All goals were stated in operational terms. A plan of action was devised through a process of task analysis. Once the series of tasks leading to the goal was defined, a schedule of positive (and in some extreme cases, negative) reinforcements were established to shape the resident's behavior.

On the whole, each grouphome professional developed this individualized program plan (I.P.P.) on the key client assigned to them. Each shift within the group home, however, was normally staffed with only two workers. Every worker therefore, had to be familiar with and implement not only his own program, but the program for all of the residents.

The only other competing professional paradigm had been the medical models utilized by nursing staff who were employed by C.L.S. when the organization first commenced. After about four years, however, the nurses were removed from the staff and generic community resources utilized. This was perceived as a further development of the principle of normalization.

The results of this study may have been different, therefore, if the technology utilized by the professionals in this human service organization were more complex. Also, the redistribution of tasks created by the reduction in manpower in the group homes may have been more complicated in a human service organization where the technical system was more organic (i.e., more than one way to achieve the task) and the staff roles more differentiated (e.g. specialists rather than the more generic staff functions).

The organizational political system in this case study was also relatively unproblematic. Although the issue of how the cutbacks were going to be decided and the uncertainty as to which of the fiscal objectives the organization was going to have to meet (these scenarios ranged from 3 to 12% cutbacks) raised the anxiety of all staff in the short run, the relatively organic political system in C.L.S. appeared to handle this uncertainty. Had the political system been more mechanistic and the strategic managers more united in their response, more formalized confrontational methods may have been used (i.e., formal complaints through the union, walkouts, etc.). These did not occur between the strategic managers and the operational level staff in C.L.S. for the following reasons. First, the operational level staff were concerned with job security. Many of them were concerned that if they overtly objected too strenuously, their positions might be eliminated as part of the cutbacks. Secondly, the staff felt they had the support of both the parents and their supervisors. They knew that the parents were advocating on their behalf directly to the politician concerned, and that their supervisors were representing their concerns the best they could through the formal organizational system. Thirdly, the supervisors felt assured that their program directors were representing their client-related concerns at the management committee to the point where the cohesiveness of the strategic managerial group was severely stretched. Finally, all staff viewed the economic reductions as a province-wide phenomenon. It was perceived as a reality that was affecting not only all aspects of the public sector but the private sector as well. This was not perceived as a situation in which management was trying to 'con' the employees of the organization.

The balance of power among organizational groups, although first tilting towards the means-oriented professionals soon achieved a new equilibrium. Had the political system not been organic enough to include the parent and staff in the reaffirmation of the mission statement, and had the parental input not been strengthened and reformalized via the P.A.C., the realignment of the political system may have been more dramatic. For example, had the client-oriented professionals viewed the outcome of the changes as being deletarious to the clients, they may very well have engaged in a walk out to publicize their concerns. This may well have led to a public confrontation between the Minister and the operational staff with the parents publically supporting the latter. This, in turn, may have resulted in a strategic change such as privatizing the organization or perhaps even eliminating the service if it was perceived that the general public felt this human service organization was too autonomous and or that it cost too much relative to the new economic situation.

The value consensus within the cultural system of this organization was particularly high. Had the cultural system been more organic, thus allowing greater acceptability of differing or even competing value systems, the outcome may have been quite different. The deepest and most emotional concerns raised by all levels of staff, centered on the possibility that their belief in the dignity and right for development of these residents might be compromised. In fact, it was the staffs' commitment to these ideals that motivated them to put in an extra effort, including many hours of their own time, to ensure that the quality of service did not deteriorate during the short term.

Because of the high value consensus the means vs ends dispute which could have erupted between the impersonal and personal professionals was resolved with the best interests of the clients in mind. The incorporation of these basic values into the mission statement and ED's transformation of roles towards advocating more for C.L.S. while attending regional meetings (i.e., more towards representing C.L.S. in the region rather than visa versa) are indicators that the high value consensus was retained and perhaps even reinforced over the long run.

Societal Conflicts and Contradictions

The specific case study of this research demonstrates a successful short term organizational adaptation to a specific change in the organizational environment. The applicability of Tichy's framework in facilitating the analysis and explanation of this change has been demonstrated even though the changes were more incremental than strategic in the short term (six months) for this human service organization. As mentioned above, Tichy's theory of change and leadership has been devised exclusively for an organizational world. As such the researcher has not attempted to consider the overall dynamics of societal change where social movements and the balance of political forces play a strategic role. Were the changes in the organizational environment to which C.L.S. and other human service organizations had to adapt indications of a larger societal change?

Since functionalist theory focuses primarily on the consensual aspect of societal development, the emergence of contradictory forces are more difficult to analyze. The external societal pressures to which organizations must respond will therefore be examined using a critical perspective which does not make the ontological assumption of societal order. The crucial question here is why the government compromised and why this particular case did not involve the ideological controversy otherwise associated with the crisis of the welfare state. From the perspective of the critical theory of the state, as we will see, the severely mentally and physically disabled cannot be directly linked to the tension between accumulation and state legitimation. Rather the rationale for the normalization strategy (Wolfensburger, 1972) rests on basic human values which are outside the contested areas where removing individuals from state dependence is a primary source of social conflict in advanced capitalism.

As noted in the introduction, some are indeed questioning whether the current economic crisis is an indication of the need for strategic changes in the welfare state itself. For example, according to O'Connor the services and interventions provided by the welfare state has increased dramatically in the twentieth century.

> "Every economic and social class and group wants the government to spend more and more money on more and more things. But no one wants to pay new taxes or higher rates on old taxes. ... Society's demands on local and state budgets seemingly are unlimited, but people's willingness and capacity to pay for these demands appear to be narrowly limited. And at the federal level expenditures increased significantly faster than the growth of total production" (O'Connor, 1973: 1).

According to O'Connor, the welfare state must try two fulfill to basic and often mutually contradictory functions. It must endeavor both to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible, as well as maintain or create the conditions for social harmony (O'Connor: 6).

Thus the welfare state finds itself in a dilemma. If the state openly uses coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes, it loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support. A state that ignores the necessity of assisting the process of capital accumulation, however, risks drying up the source of its own power - i.e. the economy's surplus production capacity and the taxes drawn from this surplus.

Jurgen Habermas concurs with this view point. According to Habermas, (1973) this dilemma has not lead to a manifest crisis "because the economic system has forfeited its functional autonomy visa-a-vis the state". He explains this process as follows:

> "Economic crises are shifted into the political system through the reactive-avoidance activity of the government in such a way that supplies of legitimation can compensate for deficits and rationality and extensions of organizational reality can compensate for those legitimation deficits that do appear" (Ibid.).

These governments have justified their interventions into these areas by reacting to the criticisms put forward by the various classes. They have also tried to predict probable crises and plan strategies which would minimize or avoid their occurrence. They have justified these actions by citing that they are acting in the public interest and to preserve democracy. Habermas, however, warns that:

> "The less the cultural system 'is capable of producing adequate motivations for politics, the educational system, and the occupational system, the more must scarce meaning be replaced by consumable values. ... The definitive limits to procuring legitimation are inflexible normative structures that no longer provide the economic-political system with ideological resources, but instead confront it with exorbitant demands" (1973: 92-93).

This, Habermas concludes, will result in a legitimation crisis which

> "can be avoided in the long run only if the latent class structures of advanced-capitalist society are transformed or if the pressure for legitimation to which the administrative system is subject can be removed. The latter, in turn, could be achieved by transposing the integration on inner-nature in toto to another mode of socialization, that is, by uncoupling it from norms that need

justification" (1973: 93-94).

In the case of C.L.S., the government prevented what could have become a rather nasty public issue (i.e., government preying on the handicapped to support the oil industry explorations). They also made their point that 'belt tightening' was required by all segments of the society during these tough economic times by reducing the C.L.S. budget by a token amount. The government backed down from their request to reduce the C.L.S. budget by having the bureaucracy reallocate the cuts to a less contentious area. Thus the underlying norms of public expenditures as a whole was sustained i.e. that accumlation has ultimate priority - yet, at the same time, legitimization was sustained by re-affirming the consensual values which hold that the province and not the family has the primary responsibility for those citizens who, by an accident of birth, do not have the ability to be economically productive contributors to society. (Although some economists have argued that every public dollar pumped into health care systems, represent a dollar earned by health care professionals (Evans, 1984)).

Claus Offe perceives this dilemma as one of the major contradictions of the welfare state. He views advanced capitalist societies as being comprised of systems structured by three interdependent but differently organized sub-systems. The sub-systems include the structures of socialization (such as the household) which are guided by normative rules, the capitalist economy which is determined by commodity production and exchange relationships, and the welfare state which is organized by the mechanisms of labor and administrative power and coercion. He interprets the welfare state as "a multi-functional and heterogeneous set of political and administrative institutions whose purpose is to manage the structures of socialization and the capitalist economy" (Offe, 1984: 13).

According to Offe, the primary contradiction in the welfare state is the fact that its various branches are compelled to perform two incompatible functions vis-a-vis the economic sub-system: commodification and decommodification. On one hand, the welfare state policies are supposed to be 'negatively subordinated' to the process of capitalistic accumulation. The administrators of the welfare state therefore, have a 'self interest' in giving preferential treatment to the capitalist economy because the healthy functioning of this economic sub-system is a crucial condition for the 'mass loyalty' to the welfare state and, indirectly, the vital source of its revenues.

In this case study, the provincial government decided to give precedence to reducing its deficit over a five year period rather than increasing services. The government argued that once the deficit was eliminated, the money 'being wasted' to service these loans could then be rechanneled into services. It was banking that the majority of the citizens in the province, who were no longer accustomed to the province being in debt, would agree with them during the next election. The small amount of the reduction in the C.L.S. budget, however, may have also been an indication that the government did not want to be viewed as meeting this goal at the expense of those who 'deserved' society's protection.

Offe points out that the welfare state is also required to both intervene in the economic sub-system and create through non-market or 'decommodified' means, the pre-conditions of its successful functioning. The processes of capitalistic accumulation cannot be reproduced through the silent compulsion of economic relations since the movement of private capital systematically produces collectively-experienced outcomes such as the decay of inner cities, the pollution of regional econo-systems, and a rise in unemployment levels due to modernization of industries.

These decommodified means include such strategies as human rights legislation, labor regulations, and pollution laws. Offe (1984) notes, however, that this decommodification process raises the citizenry's expectation of what the welfare state can and should achieve.

> "It visibly assumes responsibility for a much wider gamut of functions - from the management of human physical resources to securing the commodification process, weakening its scope, and compensating for its disfunctions. ... Unable to effectively execute decisions for which they claim responsibility, welfare state administrators become victims of their own 'false promises'" (1984: 23-24).

According to Offe, welfare state policies then, are required to do the impossible: "They are forced to reorganize and restrict the mechanisms of capitalist accumulation in order to allow those mechanisms to spontaneously take care of themselves" (1984: 16). Thus at any one point in time, "the welfare state seeks to maintain the dominance of capital, to challenge and erode its power, and to compensate for its disruptive and disorganizing consequences" (1984: 16).

State policies are therefore viewed as dependent upon the existing matrix of social power, which in turn is seen to be constantly subject to transformation by the activity of social power groups and movements. In this way, welfare state institutions are viewed as both the medium and outcome of struggles over the distribution of power within the realms of society and the state (1984: 26).

Offe has identified three social movements that are resisting the continuance or expansion of the welfare state. The New Right, which is supported by sections of large capital in the traditional middle classes, advocates for the recommodification of social life. It promotes laissez-faire coalitions to decrease the scope and importance of decommodified political and administrative power by resuscitating 'market forces' (1984: 123-125).

An example of this strategy was the newly elected Conservative federal government's discontinuance of the National Energy Program. The program had been imposed upon the oil producing province of Alberta by the former Liberal federal government when the world price for oil sky rocketed and the manufacturing companies in Central and Eastern Canada were faced with costly energy bills. Unfortunately, the recommodification strategy occurred just as world oil prices were plummeting. Many of the oil companies went bankrupt and the others had to reduce their production and size drastically to cope with these unbuffered market forces. This was a major contributor to the economic crisis experienced by the provincial government which had become dependent on these royalties for the financing of its programs and services. The fiscal reduction experienced by C.L.S. then, has a root in this recommodifying strategy of the conservative provincial government.

The strategy of 'corporatism', a greater reliance upon state-supervised 'corporatist' forms of policy-making in administration, is a second possible response to the present contradictions of the welfare state identified by Offe. Through this strategy, the commodification process would be revived, and fiscal and planning problems of the welfare state alleviated, by excluding excessively political demands and instituting state-supervised and informal modes of bargaining between representatives of key interest groups such as labor and capital (Offe, 1984: 290-292). He views this strategy however, as tending towards disequilibrium, since the capitalists' power to invest or not invest typically tips the balance of power in their favor to define which issues or demands can be negotiated and which must be excluded as excessively controversial or unworkable. (1984:28).

The third form of resistance Offe identifies is democratic socialism. This strategy supports an alliance of democratic-socialist forces which could gain the support of sections of the trade union movement and the new middle classes. Offe suggests that if this occurs, it might effectively reconstruct welfare state capitalism into an egalitarian 'welfare society' whose 'needs' would be autonomously determined through decentralized and publicly-controlled forms of social production and political organization (1984: 29). According Offe such factors as the displacement of territorially-defined political institutions by functional forms of representation, the de-activation of rank-and-file membership by the bureaucratization and professionalization patterns of party leadership and recruitment tend to greatly diminish the trust popularly accorded to political parties. The resulting cynicism and distrust would tend to promote the growth of autonomous social movements. These movements would address various problems and issues (e.g. urban renewal, peace, environmental decay, services to the handicapped) that have been marginalized or screened out by the official party and state procedures of consensus-building. (1984: 30).

According to Offe, these movements would facilitate the growth of a democratic and socialist welfare society. By frequently engaging in direct forms of social action, these movements articulate and defend such 'post-material' values as gender identity, democratic rights, environmental safety, and the rights of the handicapped. These movements are also supported by groups whose cooperation is central to the overall management and functioning of welfare capitalist systems rather than by only the peripheral of marginal social strata. Offe views these movements not only as a consequence of the general erosion of mass loyalty to welfare state capitalism, but also the result of the relative displacement of political parties as an important focus of political consensus-building.

Therefore, if political parties are to retain their legitimacy in the eyes of their citizenry, they must develop policies of reform that make possible a new type of democratic socialism. This democratic socialism could effectively call into question the old and uneasy compromise between capitalist production and administrative surveillance and control. In other words:

> "Welfare state policies of reform have the unintended effect of breaking their own spell. They encourage social struggles to develop new forms of mutual aid within a socialist civil society mobilized against the power of private capital and the interventionist, disciplinary state" (Offe: 32).

The reaction of the Minister of Social Services and the bureaucrats to the parents in this case study, appears to exemplify these struggles in which the welfare state attempts to re-establish an equilibrium between its three sub-systems - the structures of socialization (i.e., the parent group), which are guided by the normative ideal that the state has a responsibility to use some of its resources to care for the handicapped; the capitalist economy (i.e., the oil industry), the wealth on which the province is dependent via tax royalties to finance these services; and the welfare state, which consisted of professionals and bureaucrats who managed the resources and programs in accordance with government policy.

Daniel Bell provides an alternative view of current western post industrial society. He also divides society into three distinct realms: the social structure (principally the techno-economic order), the polity, and the culture. Rather than viewing society as a unified system organized around a single major principle, as does Marx, or the dominant value of achievement, as does Talcott Parsons, Bell (1973, 1976) perceives modern society as an uneasy amalgam of the three distinct realms. Each of the realms are ruled by contrary axial principles. The axial principle for the economy is efficiency; for the polity, equality; and for the culture, self-realization (or self-gratification). According to Bell the resulting disjunctions have framed the tensions and social conflicts of western society in the past one hundred and fifty years.

Bell also perceives a shift in post industrial society from manufacturing to service oriented work, and a new centrality of theoretical knowledge in economic innovation and policy. In his view, the contradictions of capitalism involve a disjunction between the kind of organization and the norms demanded in the economic realm (bureaucratic and hierarchical) where value is measured in terms of utility, and the more holistic norms of self-realization that are now central in the culture. "The two realms which had historically been joined to produce a single character structure - that of the Puritan and of his calling - have now become unjoined. The principles of the economic realm and those of the culture now lead people in contrary directions" (Bell, 1976: 15). In addition, the segmentation of a person into roles as required by the techno-economic realm directly clashes with the cultural system which emphasis the achievement of the whole person.

The 'means vs ends' conflict which occurred in C.L.S. is symptomatic of this clash. The personal service professionals feared that 'living within the budget' might replace the developmental goal of the organization - that the principle of efficiency would overtake the holistic principle of effectiveness. An example of the resulting segmentation of persons into roles is the variation in the perspectives of the houseparent role. The means-oriented professionals view the houseparents as solely fulfilling a housekeeping, laundry and cooking function. The personal service professionals and the parents viewed them in the more holistic "motherly role." In their eyes, the houseparent was indeed part of the direct care personnel and not a luxurious support service that was appended to the group homes.

Bell, advocates a new form of liberalism in post-industrial society. He disagrees with Habermas' argument that there can be such a unitarian phenomenon as a set of universal, generalizable interests which are based on the assumption that reason would dissolve all conflict and thus result in the establishment of some fundamental harmony. Instead, Bell argues that in modern society, there are inevitably multiple plural interests "because we all have multiple attachments and identities" (Bell, 1980: 243). Secondly, he argues that "inevitably, there can be no mutual reconciliation of all values". According to Bell, in a pluralistic society, values often conflict so that moral issues become ones of 'right' vs 'right'. He therefore argues with Habermas that individuals must be free to express their needs and wants undistorted by ideology.

> "For the basis of a free society has to be the establishment of those social rules and institutions that allow men to negotiate freely - and from equal conditions - their needs and wants and values. But this is also the basis for the priority of liberty, for while no single value can be "absolutized" without itself becoming a tyranny, the priority of liberty assures the society of the largest possible opportunity where other values, such as economy, or fairness, or efficiency may be negotiated" (Bell, 1980: 243).

The case study exemplifies the tensions created when the axial principles of each of the societal realms are pulling in different directions. The parents, seeking self-realization for their children, viewed the fiscal restraints as a threat in this area. The Premier's call for greater efficiency within the public sector was a result of a reduction in working capital created by the general economic recession and, in particular, the drastic fall in oil prices. Finally, the minimal cutback in the C.L.S. budget, appeared to have been an attempt by the polity to arrive at an equitable solution between the concerns expressed by the parent lobby and the perceived economic realities of the province.

The authors discussed above have attempted to explain the existence, evolution and impact of the dynamic forces which exist in western post industrial society. As implied by these authors, these forces seem to interact on a cyclical basis. These forces, in general, appear to fall into three categories: cultural, normative forces which generate action and pressures based on emerging ideals; political, negotiative forces which are based on power (be it domination or resolution through conquering or negotiating); and techno-economic forces which appear to based upon instrumentality and exchange.

History has shown that societal transformations have been motivated and/or legitimated by each of these areas. Some societies have been changed markedly by culturally based ideals (e.g. Judaism, Christianity, Islamism, Buddhism, Communism). Others have been changed by the power accrued through new forms of organization (e.g. Roman empire, the

Napoleonic empire, Alexandrian empire, etc.). Still others they have been changed by revolutionary advances in technology which has also affected exchange value (e.g. bronze age, iron age, nuclear age, computer age). Regardless of which category provided the impetus for the societal change, however, the forces existing in the other categories have had to adjust to legitimize and complement the new trend. Likewise, the organizations existing in each of these societies would also have to adjust to deal with the forces generated within each of these societies.

Daniel Bell has reported that the focus of reality in post industrial society is changing from being 'nature based' to being 'socially based'. In nature based society men sought to relate themselves to the natural world through their poetry and imagination. Reality became techniques with tools and things made by man given an independent existence outside himself in the reified world. In socially based society, society itself becomes a web of consciousness and a form of imagination to be realized as a social construction to allow men to live more and more outside nature and less and less with machinery and things (Bell, 1973: 488).

This new focus on 'social realities' has resulted in an increase in the organizations forming and contributing to public policy. H.T. Wilson (1985) warns that the political processes which so effectively enhanced the development of industrial society, may not be appropriate for the service oriented post-industrial society. The belief in scientific knowledge and the altruistic nature of the professionals which are viewed as having aquired this knowledge, has resulted in a tendency for the citizenry to passively expect the public policies formulated by those who are perceived to process the relevant expertise. This tendency has resulted in public policy without public understanding. It has been legitimated and reinforced by a belief in the rationality of this expertise at the expense of the 'bottom up' interest and support by citizens and publics. According to Wilson:

> "In fact, governments and leaders are increasingly responsible for the sorry state of public knowledge and understanding, aided and abetted, it must be said, by commercial and/or political constraints and the sensationalist nature of mass media. Public enlightenment and understanding is not some spurious after-effect to be governmentally engineered if it is to be taken account of at all. Public policies will quite simply be less intelligent in the absence of the dialectic that representation alone can mediate between participation and leadership" (Wilson, 1985: 2).

This has resulted in a disequilibrium between political and techno-economic development. In order to reinstate this equilibirium, Wilson argues:

> "That only public controls and effective supervision of representatives, complemented by direct action where this is appropriate and comports with the rule of law, can [we] actually succeed in realizing a much needed equilibrium between the political development on the one hand and the economic and technological development on the other" (Wilson 1985: 226).

The means to achieve this equilibrium is through "political management". According to Wilson:

> "Political management is the collective self-care for public things, coupled with the continuous requirement of determining just what these things are at any given time. Ideally it sees process as primary, the activity itself as problem-solving rather than decision-making, and the system is ultimately experimental, if only because in collective life there are (and can be) no final solutions" (1985: 3).

This study demonstrates how painful this process can be. Those working at each level of the public human service organizations needed to achieve the goals and deliver the services required and demanded by the changing expectations of the citizenry are often faced with seemingly contradictory tasks. They must somehow address the changing needs of of both individuals and industry. This research shows that these needs may be perceived differently by those functioning at various organizational levels. Their perceptions are colored by their everyday work experiences and their understanding of how decisions are made and justified. The inclusions of these perceptions as input into organizational problem solving activities is important. Tichy's analytical framework can facilitate this process by identifying the organizational systems and components that may require re-alignment at the strategic, managerial and operational levels as the societal forces in the organizational environment continues to change.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your job?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on your job and the tasks you have to do?

   What information do you need to do these tasks?

   How do you get this information? (formally and informally)

2. Who influences what you do and the way you do it?

   How have they influenced what you do?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on who influences what you do and the way you do it?

3. Who evaluates you?

   Who influences the way your performance is evaluated?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on who influences the way your performance is evaluated?

4. How is your performance evaluated?

   What is the criteria used to evaluate your performance?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the criteria and the way your performance is evaluated (i.e. how have they changed?)?

5. Describe the structure of the organization.

   What are the values and assumptions underlying the structure?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the organizational structure (i.e. has the organizational structure changed? If so how?).

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the values underlying how the organization is designed?

6. How does one get ahead in this organization?

   What are the values underlying who gets ahead in the organization?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the values underlying who gets ahead in the organization?

7. What is the mission statement for C.L.S.?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the mission statement?

8. Who formulates the mission and goals of the organization?

   How are they formulated?

   Who influences the formulation of the mission and goals?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on who influences the mission and goals of the organization? (i.e., the way the mission and goals are formulated)?

9. What are the other values ~~underlying~~ underly the organization and it's mission?

   What are the values underlying your program?

   How are these values consistent or inconsistent with your own values?

   What effect has the fiscal restraint had on the values of the organization? (i.e., have the values underlying the organization mission changed)? Has there been a change in the importance attributed to each of the values? (i.e. a change in priority?)

10. Are there relatively durable small clusters of friends within the organization? Please identify them.

    Are there identifiable clusters of people who cooperate in order to exert influence? If so, who? Around what issues?

    Who shares information with whom? What types of information?

    How extensive and active is the informal information network? How accurate is it?

    How does this informal network affect you? (i.e. the way you do your job, the way you feel about your job, the way you feel about the management of the organization, the way you feel about the organization).

    How involved are you in this informal network?

11. What are the three most important issues faced by the organization over the past year?

    What are the three most important issues you have had to face in the last year?

    How have these issues affected your work?

    How have these issues affected the way decisions are made in C.L.S.?

    How have these issues affected the values of the organization?

How have the values of the organization effected these issues? How has the way decisions are made in C.L.S. effected these issues? How has your work effected these issues?

12. What are your expectations of:
this organization? Your unit? Your job? The management? Other units?

Has the fiscal restraint changed any of these expectations? Which ones? How?

13. What do you see as being the major outputs of this organization?

Is there a clear relationship between the amount of resources spent on various goals and the importance of the goal? On the adequacy to which the goal is achieved?

Are all parts of the organization working towards at least one of the goals?

Are the goals adjusted with environmental changes: How?

How satisfied do you think your co-workers are with their own work? With each other? With their careers?

How satisfied are you with these?

14. What changes do you think should be made to improve the organization? Why?

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF MEETINGS

DATE	MEETING
January 20	Management Committee.
January 20	Restrictive Procedures Committee.
January 30	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
February 17	Management Meeting.
February 19	Special Meeting between RM. and the Strategic Level Managers and Group Home Supervisors of C.L.S.. to update situation.
February 20	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
February 24	Management Meeting.
February 25	Children's Services Unit Meeting.
February 26	Special Meeting between RM. and Strategic Managers to discuss the "Challenges we have to face".
February 27	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
February 27	Parent Advisory Committee Meeting.
March 3	Restrictive Procedures Review Committee.
March 4	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
March 6	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
March 6	First Planning Meeting between ED. and Group Home Supervisors.
March 7	Parent Advisory Committee Meeting.
March 10	Management Meeting.
March 13	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
March 17	Management Meeting.
March 18	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
March 20	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
March 24	Management Committee Meeting.
March 25	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
April 1	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
April 7	Special Meeting between ED. and the Group Home Supervisors to review their budgets.
April 10	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
April 14	Special Mission/Values Statement Meeting between the Strategic Level Managers, Managers (Group Home Supervisors) and Representatives of the Operational Level Staff and Parents to provide input into the formulation of the Mission Statement.
April 15	Children's Services Unit Meeting.
April 21	Management Meeting.
April 22	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
April 24	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
April 28	Management Committee Meeting.
May 4	Special Meeting between RM. and his Directors of his three facilities serving handicapped persons (C.L.S. and two institutional facilities) regarding the problem of increased absenteeism.
May 5	Management Committee Meeting.
May 13	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
May 14	Parent Advisory Committee Meeting.

DATE	MEETING
May 15	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
May 19 Regional to Safety	Management Committee Meeting with Representatives from and Governmental Occupational Health and Safety Personnel review C.L.S.'s compliance to Occupational Health and Regulations for staff.
May 20	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
May 22	Adult Services Unit Meeting.
May 26	Management Meeting.
May 26	Childrens Services Unit Meeting.
June 2 Regarding	Special Meeting Between Strategic Level Managers updating the Five Year Plan.
June 3 Statement Special	Special Management Meeting to relate the new Mission based on the Staff and Parental input from the April 14 Meeting.
June 5 secretaries	Special Meeting between Strategic Managers and their to discuss new telephone answering responsibilities and procedures.
June 6 agency fiscal	Special Management Committee Meeting to review last years goals and establish 'preliminary' agency goals for this year.

APPENDIX C

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEETINGS: CONTENT AND PROCESSES

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
January 20	- House Parents - Who has a job and who doesn't? They should be notified soon. - E.D. reported that parents had a meeting by themselves. No information yet. - Supervisors spending most of their time now at the group homes. - E.D. emphasized that they must reach their budget reduction goal.	- E.D. not included in regional decisions. Doing what he is told. - A.P.D. and C.P.D. are focusing on the short term budget reduction goals. - B.M. is monitoring closely.
February 17	will be a meeting with R.M. and supervisors on Thursday. - P.A.C. meeting scheduled for February 27. - Review of policy on ethical considerations for behavioural programs. - Holidays must be taken before March 31. - House Parents - termination slips still not sent out. - New group home schedules to be sent to E.D. who will pass them on to the regional personnel office for comment. - Office of the Public Guardian has been racing concerns regarding smoking in the group homes. Decided to do a staff survey regarding a smoke free environment. - Budget reviewed.	- Same as above.
February 24	- E.D. analysed factors contributing to budget deficit. Most were externally controlled. E.D. sent a memo to R.M. advising him of this. - Deputy Minister still "sitting on the notices" to the House Parents. - Need to review job descriptions discussed. - Expenditure projections reported and discussed. - Decided to put more areas into the group home budget for next year (increase group home atonomy).	- Focus was on the technical system changes required by the political system changes (reallocation of resources). - Change in political system for next year proposed - i.e., more responsibility for group home supervisors. - A.P.D. and C.P.D. reinforce that client needs should always come first.

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
March 10	Alternative futures conference - staff to pay their way but will be given time off. - Effect of wage freeze on highering of wage persons discussed. Concern expressed regarding leaving vacancies to long. - Planning for next year. E.D. feels less panicky now therefore is canceling the planning meetings with the group home supervisors. - criteria to be met by new schedule discussed. The mission statement and values workshop proposed by C.P.D.	- E.D. running organization from R.M.'s point of view; acting from R.M.'s authority, not his. - E.D. sees planning meeting with group home supervisors as a task to be done. - E.D. clears parental involvement in the planning process with R.M. - E.D. not as client-centered as - P.D.'s. - Everyone believes more cuts are coming. Need to be prepared. - Parents can come to the mission and values meeting to provide input, but don't have veto power.
March 17	- Region asking for update on budget situation. - What have we learnt for next year? - What were the effects of cutbacks on clients and on staff? - Client goals were forfeited. - 'Call waiting' for group homes authorized. - Should group homes have their own vans? Must stay in budget. Smoking survey results - did staff understand the question? - Set a target date for smoke free environment. - Vacancies - which to fill and which to leave open for new schedules to work. - R.M. asked us to identify bureaucratic barriers to increase flexibility and more efficiently meet needs.	- E.D. wants to show his appreciation of staff effort by seeing if someone higher in the bureaucracy will thank them. - P.D.'s don't think E.D. realizes the degree of staff sacrifice. - E.D. doesn't think clients - suffered to much because of staffs' commitment. - E.D. has a bureaucratic management style. i.e., does what he is told from the top down. - P.D.'s have a professional oriented management style. i.e., client oriented. - E.D. looking at increasing atonomy of the group home supervisors as a technical system solution (i.e., increase in job description duties) rather than a political system (increasing

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
		their authority) and its implications (e.g. more trust of their judgement). - E.D. views planning meetings as technical. i.e., personnel and budget oriented. Concerned with perceived effect on production. - P.D.'s view the planning meetings as a means to reestablish (make explicit) a consensus regarding the values and mission of the organization.
March 24	- New food delivery service (groceries). - Vans - cost of maintenance and running. - E.D. requests A.P.D. and C.P.D. to investigate the effects of cutbacks on staff and report to him. - Annual staff satisfaction survey to be sent out by E.D. - Planning meeting cancelled. - Budget - supervisors will be given the budgets for their group homes during a meeting next week. - Annual goal setting - E.D. wants to develop contingency plans in case more cutbacks occur next year. P.D.'s want to identify mission statement and values first. - Mission statement meeting date set. C.S. program consultant to organize and run the meeting. Information and representatives from the staff and parents will also be included.	- C.P.D. "frustrated - E.D. cancelled last scheduled planning meeting and missed a number of agenda items she thought were important. - E.D. appeared somewhat disorganized. - E.D. appears to assume that silence means consensus. - Most of the meeting focused on - technical system items. - E.D. views for contingency plans - A.P.D. and C.P.D. want to first reexamine mission and values and use mission statement to guide reallocation of resources. E.D. wants to know what the resources are first and then look at the mission. - E.D. is scanning bureaucratic environment almost exclusively; P.D.'s also parental scan parental and staff concerns.

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES

April 21	- Progress review
	  - Elimination of midnight shift overlap hour.
	  - Regional personnel department still looking at schedules.
	  - New job descriptions for house parents.
	  - House parents to notify personnel re which option they are choosing (i.e., staying at half time or leading organization).
	  - Alternative futures conference, region will fund ten people. Up to P.D.'s to decide who.
	- New business
	  - Health and Safety audit. C.L.S. has high accident and absenteeism rate. Health and Safety officers coming to do an audit of C.L.S. on May 19. E.D. developed a work plan and wants comments.
	  - Page utilization report may be eliminated but C.P.D. still wants them coming to her.
	  - Checkered cab has two vans with hydraulic lifts and will charge regular fares.
	  - Health care in service schedules for new staff.
	  - Leisure attendant project is a new community agency service.
	  - Parent Advisory Committee meeting cancelled and rescheduled to May 14. Parents wanted an evening meeting. The parents have meet and decided to keep "Friend's of C.L.S." as a lobbying group in addition to P.A.C. which advises E.D.. They want at least three meetings per year plus an annual meeting. Special meetings when necessary.
	  - Waiting list meeting on April 27, C.L.S. and two other provincial facilities are represented.
	  - Staff concerns "where is all the griping and crumbling?" (E.D.).
		- Focused mainly on changes in the technical system (e.g. organization processes, house parents job descriptions).
		- Lack of clerical support starting to show (e.g. hand written agenda).
		- Regional office (R.M. and personnel) still regulating the normal rules to which C.L.S. must comply.
		- C.L.S. Occupational Health and Safety Standards are going to be audited to check compliance because of high injury and absenteeism rate.
		- E.D. developed an h&s work plan by himself. He perceives this to be a high priority with R.M. (in fact feels his job could be on the line if it isn't implemented)
		- C.P.D. cautious re h&s work plan does not want to ask her staff for comments if E.D. is not going to listen.
		- Admission to C.L.S. now controlled by a committee of three directors. (C.L.S and two other facilities). C.P.D. concerned with their promises to persons first on C.L.S. waiting list may not be honored.

April 28	- Progress review - secretary called members of P.A.C. to	- Very good discussion from all

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
	remind them of the meeting. - H.P. job descriptions ready to go to regional office. - E.D. waiting for reports re effects of cutbacks on quality of service. - Smoking policy. Decided C.L.S. will be smoke free by September 1. - New business - I.A. hours of work. "I [C.P.D.] received a strong reaction. They [supervisors] say that management has told them that they have atonomy to run their own group homes, and now management is imposing a rule". - Decided to let supervisors decide as long as they stay within their budget. P.D.'s will monitor closely. - Independent Therapists are going out of business June 30. C.L.S. will develop the for service contracts with individual therapists. - Received the new manual for manpower recruitment. - Need vacancies to make new schedules work (flexibility of wages) but afraid what the region might do if manpower report shows C.L.S. is operating with a high percentage of vacancies. E.D. will make sure R.M. knows they need to keep the vacancies. - Monitoring budget. D.M. and P.D.s if they wanted her to monitor their supplies and services for them. Yes. - Treasury Department will not let C.L.S. transfer more money from other codes into travel budget. - Health care inservice going ahead. - Office of the Public Guardian requested policy on choking. Need a trained staff on each shift but cannot promise a hospital setting. - Updated five year plan. "I'm worried about getting too specific ... is meant for A.D.M. level" (E.D.). - Five year plan should reflect individual client readyness.	members. - E.D. following up on progress of previous requests. - "Atonomy means also living within their budgets" (E.D.). - Problems and risks of living within the community highlighted. - B.M. continuing close monitoring of budget for agency and P.D.'s. - Five year plan reexamined in light of cutbacks.
May 5	- Review - health and safety work plan. E.D. needs feedback and P.D.s have received many comments. They will respond by memo. - New business - clarification of union contract re over-	- E.D. seems to be out of touch regarding the implications of his H&S work plan for group homes. Many comments re reduced man-

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
	time and split shifts. - DATS cancelling transportation to summer program center. - E.D. distributed copies of new Regional Strategic Direction Paper for A.P.D. and C.P.D. comment. - Group home licenses now one dollar per year. "The problem is how to get the dollar" (i.e., from which budget code?). - 88/89 budget fixed assets. D.M. needs list of items from each group home supervisor with rationale. - R.M. has received approval for C.L.S. to higher ten wage person but has not yet forwarded it to C.L.S..	power and unrealistic time lines. - E.D. placing high priority on work plan because R.M. is. R.M. is because of concerns mentioned at a Department executive meeting. - C.L.S. vulnerable to changes in the services in the community since they rely on generic services. - P.D.s and supervisors scanning service environment. - E.D. scanning bureaucracy almost exclusively. - R.M. hired a consultant to re-examine the regions mission and goals. - Frustration expressed regarding budget process. C.L.S. sending in 88/89 budget reguests (input) but final decision authority rests outside the organization.
May 19	- Meeting between C.L.S management and representatives of the regional and Government Occupational Health and Safety personnel. - Reviewed C.L.S.'s compliance with every one of the regulations (line by line). - Visits arranged for one C.S.U. and one A.S.U. group home.	line by line review of all relevant regulations. - example of some of the external regulations and expectations to which this human service organization must meet and deal with. - C.L.S. appeared to fare quite well. - Concern expressed regarding the effect of the manpower down downsizing on back injuries (i.e. less staff available to help with lifting). - Focused entirely on technical system.

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
May 26	- Review - Transportation - First Aid training. Clients getting older and developing chronic breathing problems. - New business - review of policy on unconscious or apparently dead clients. - Laundry in group homes. Implications for community Laundry contract. - Telephone coverage now that E.D.'s secretary has retired. - A.P.D. and C.P.D. express concern that D.M. sent a memo directly to their secretaries asking them to cover phones. - Annual goal setting. Mission statement to be reviewed at next management meeting. June 2. Then a preliminary goals meeting will be held June 4 since goals must be into R.M. by June 12. - P.A.C.. Parents will chair and take minutes at meetings. Parents want a minimum of three meetings and one general meeting per year. Parents willing to organize a news letter is C.L.S. does typing. Parents want assurance that their opinions are relayed to the next level (i.e., the region) even if E.D. does not agree with it. E.D. agreed. - C.S.U. P.D. position. C.P.D. announced she is leaving in three months; wants to know what will happen to her position. E.D. wants to reexamine organization structure. - A.P.D. and C.P.D. afraid of an abolishee being appointed by R.M. in to C.P.D.'s position instead of a competition first. - Regional Planning Committee for Handicapped Services. E.D., A.P.D., and C.P.D. asked to participate on a regional committee to develop a new regional plan for services to handicapped clients. - Concern expressed by A.P.D. and C.P.D. re E.D.'s comments at last meeting. A.P.D. and C.P.D. will not be part of any planning meeting that seems to support creating institutions for this target group. E.D. submitted a	- A very dynamic meeting. Good participation from all members. - C.P.D. expressed serious concerns regarding the erosion of her power and E.D.'s supervisal and non-involvement of staff for input into decision making. - E.D. listened quietly, commenting on specifics. - C.P.D. highlighted the misalignment in the political system of the organization. She was desperately trying to see that this matter was resolved before she left. - P.D.s seemed to be concerned that E.D.'s means-orientation will result in a lessening of the quality of services to clients. something C.P.D., in particular has been developing for the last eight years. She appears that political and managerial expedience will guide decisions rather than client-based knowledage and commitment. - Agreement reached to first examine and perhaps develop a new mission statement using the input from the staff and parents, before developing agency goals. - E.D. appears to view this as a specific task. C.P.D. views it as a part of a process.

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
	revised developmental plan for C.L.S. at the committee meeting with out involving or showing A.P.D. and C.P.D. in advance. - A local discount food store now accepting Government vouchers for groceries. - First quarter budget forecast due June 5. - Need to update supervisors monthly re their budget. - Decision making - C.P.D. read a six page prepared 'each' on her concerns regarding the lack of leadership provided by the management team. "Changes that happen are imposed upon from above or below. We know longer have control over our destiny. Fiscal restraint has seriously impacted [A.P.D.]'s and my role as expenditure officers. Now there are decisions being made that we are not involved with." (C.P.D.).	
June 3	- Management meeting on mission and goals. - A summary of the information generated by the general staff-parent meeting on mission and values was reviewed. - Phrases which seemed to capture important aspects of the mission were written on the board. - By consensus, the group decided that the mission statement would follow the following format: Stating the end, for whom, by (means), and why (because). - Everyone took fifteen minutes to individually develop a mission statement by putting the phrases generated into the format. - The best wording of each statement was taken and worked into a statement which received unanimous support. - New mission statement - "to maximize the potential for independent community living of persons with multiple handicapping conditions by providing quality support and assistance, developmental training and enhancement of personal support networks to promote dignity, self determination and independence." - The list of values a principles used for the old mission statement were felt to still apply and were therefore left unchanged.	- Excellent participation from everyone. - E.D. made good use of silence to encourage thinking and contributions. - All four members of the management team had read and analysed the material distributed by the C.S. consultant before they came to the meeting. - 100% agreement on the final statement. - Final statement to be sent to staff for their comment.

DATE	CONTENT	PROCESSES
June 9	- Agency goals and objectives meeting. - This meeting to formulate 'preliminary goals in order to meet R.M.'s request for goals by June 12. - All agreed that these were to be viewed as preliminary goals since they were being drafted for R.M. without staff input. - A.P.D. to conduct a one half day 'goals and objectives meeting' with staff and parent representatives on July 6 [this meeting was eventually cancelled due to holidays and never rescheduled]. - E.D. warned not to bite of to much because there will be alot of maintenance going on this year ... I don't want staff to think 'here we go again with more changes'. - E.D. mentioned that the Minister sent a memo to R.M. stating that there were no more initiatives to down size C.L.S. and other services to handicapped clientele. "Someone has gotten to the Minister to say things are critical" (E.D.). - Last years goals and objectives reviewed, evaluated and changed if required on a line by line basis. - I.P.P.s need to be simplified. - To ensure provision of services within normalization principles. - Staff relations - "we need to reorganize for them [staff] to know their jobs" (A.P.D.). "I reviewed all the job descriptions with the supervisors and they don't want to give up anything" (C.P.D.). - Provide effective supervision - "critical now". - Community relations. We've not been very effective in this area. - Enhance volunteers. - P.A.C. - commitment to communication and involvement in major issues. - Review/revise five year plan for dependant handicapped.	- Need some preliminary goals to meet R.M.'s request. - Staff will be involved at a later date. - Good participation from all participants. - Goals and objectives from last year reviewed and changes made to bring them more in line with the fiscal reduction. - Need expressed by C.P.D. and A.P.D. to reorganize, reexamine job descriptions, and simplify organizational processes to increase effectiveness. - Concern expressed and acknowledged that regional office could step in at any time and take away more resources over the next year. Therefore they should develop some contingency plans ahead of time without increasing staff uncertainty.

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE OF CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF MEETINGS AND ISSUES
(January 20, 1987 - March 13, 1987)

DATE	MEETING	ISSUES & COMMENTS
January 20	Management	- Meeting with house parents not yet arranged - wait until pink slips. - Parents had a meeting - don't know results. - No one around headquarters - supervisors working in home. - Budget goal (a deficit of $85,000.00) - we must make it. - Research study - everyone appears cooperative.
January 20	Restrictive Procedures Committee	- This is the committees first meeting. Sometimes was spent on the mechanics of the meeting (i.e., who should be chair) and defining terminology. The rest of the meeting dealt with proposed restrictive procedure program for a particular client.
January 30	ASU	- Request feedback from business manager re: achieving goal of $30,000.00. - Refresher course change to one day. - Each group home to develop own schedule. - Full time house parent being reduced to half time. - Ideas for S.T.E.P. proposals requested. - ASPD sent a memo to ED reminding him of the needs of medical fragile Clients.
February 17	Management Meeting	- Regional manager request meeting with all staff on Thursday morning - "I think he wants to make himself available and a target to staff directly. I don't know why he feels he needs to do that". - Supervisors feel the main push is over. - Supervisors continuing to monitor budget. - Parent Advisory meeting will occur on February 27 at 1:30pm. - "with [regional manager] and [regional director] there, I'm not sitting at the front". - "He has been quite candid with them. He just doesn't agree with them." "They [parents] fear this is the first move with ending up with nothing". - "Its been answered many times but they aren't listening". - "I feel better now that the program will continue than I have over the last two years".

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		- Policy review on ethical considerations for behavioural programs. - Holidays will be on a first come first serve basis. - The pink slips for the House Parents still have not gone out - "don't know why. I can't guess why". - "The house parents are really on edge ... [Regional Manager] said that they would know within five working days, and it didn't happen". - New group home schedules - "supervisors have been calling personnel regarding schedules". Personnel proposes a meeting. - Smoking - "I told the office of the Public Guardian I'd be doing something about this". - Decided to conduct a staff survey. - Deficit - Executive Director reviewed the reasons for the originally projected deficit of $400,000.00 - most of which appeared beyond their control. - Executive director wanted to find a way to express his thanks to staff for their efforts. A memo was suggested but he wanted "a party". No final decision was reached. - Budgetary comparison of group homes to date.
February 19	between Regional Manager and Strategic Managers and supervisors of CLS	- The regional manager spoke for most of the meeting, the meeting was called to try and keep the supervisor informed the about what is going on and to get their input on issues. RM (Regional Manager) tried to reinforce that the supervisors were critical to the organization. "The houseparents apparently felt they were the fixed point of responsibility for the group homes. This was supported by the parents, because they see the house parents more than the group home supervisors. ... We manage the program. We have not given them [the parents] a veto right with the program - just their own child." - In talking about the reductions RM stated " the cabinet made the decision. The region had a quota. We had a dollar figure that we had to meet. C.L.S. was only cut half the amount than the regional average. ... Regional Executive Committee met every day for ten straight days. Our

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		decisions were changed by the Departmental Executive Committee, and then the Minister and Priorities Committee ... This reflected the reality of the current economic climate. The provincial deficit is tied to the price of oil. The balance the provincial budget requires the price of oil be at thirty five dollars a barrel. All the province can do is either increase revenue or decrease expenditures. ... We will be getting instructions from treasury in June." - RM encouraged the supervisors to get involved in suggesting and developing innovative changes. However he made it clear that he made the decisions. "ED (Executive Director) created scenarios. I chose this one it is not up to the management of C.L.S. to restructure. ... I have to make the decision that effects you with your advise." When one of the supervisors stated that RM appeared to be contradicting himself, RM replied "Are you in the real world? The Minister affects my world. I will impact on your world. I have to make decision that affect you. I will be accountable for those decisions. We never have complete autonomy. The only way to get complete autonomy is develop a private board". - He also reminded everyone that other legislation affects them. "There is always the financial act, the public service act, and so on.". - RM stated that he wanted to increase the autonomy of the group homes and encourage them to be as innovative as possible. - RM also requested that communication between them remain open. "I want you to be brutally honest with me. Its important that you know that I want your input. ... Lets meet in two months. In early April". - RM did most of the talking throughout this meeting. Only one staff person spoke out. The general reaction was "We heard this all before, just the positive picture and not the effect on the client." When asked about the lack of staff interaction at the meeting the general reaction was that "this is learned

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		behaviour it never used to be but whats the use".
February 20	ASU	- Staff freeze - "[Regional manager] said that it is not a good possibility that the freeze will be lifted" - House Parent update - no new information. - Schedule revisions - submit to Executive Director. - First aid course - regional office will pay costs for first aid and C.P.R. courses. - Smoking policy - Executive Director to send out a survey to staff. - Budget - Adult services has achieved half of the target. - We are to do our own budgeting - "next year we will examine our forecasts at least once a month". - New economy for group homes. - "my personal feeling is that we can't change much". (APD) - Parent Advisory meeting next Friday - "you can attend if you want to".
February 24	Management Meeting	- Executive Director sent a memo to the Regional Manager outlining the reasons for the deficit - "even [Regional Manager] was surprised". - Notification of house parents - "the Deputy Minister sitting on the notices and I'm not sure why" "he wants us to consider the possibility of house parents assuming other positions". - "the Deputy Minister is nervous about the number of people left without a job" - "the region is still pushing for all of this to occur by this week-end". - Supervisors job descriptions - "we need to look at the job descriptions again in light of the new organizational model for any up-dating". - Expenditure projections - "have we done enough to this point?" "all that is significant is the bottom line". - The deficit is running in manpower; surplus is in supplies and services. - Division ten has not yet settled. - There appears to be some money in fixed assets. - Supervisors seem to be stock piling in food - "they have a fear that if they don't put it in the open orders, they will lose it".

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		- "We have to make sure the money is in the right place". - Transportation budget - give it to the group homes budget. - "In general principle, all the money spent by the group homes should be in their own budget". - Long distance telephone calls placed in group home budgets. - Schedule sent to personnel - "may be confusing to send the schedules with out knowing how they work". - DATS is refusing to transport some of our people - "I've just seen in the newspaper that DATS is refusing to go out to Rundle Park". - Could be a problem. - Problems with yellow cab - "they are charging us the time it takes to help take groceries out of the cab". - Use another company.
February 25	CSU	- Expenditures-to-date report - supervisors confused by the inaccuracies in the report - they were told to contact the business manager directly. - Bob's holiday schedule form. - Meeting to be set up with personnel to discuss the new schedules - Restrictive Procedures Committee will review a proposed policy on restrictive procedures. - Send the director the status of your staff regarding their first aid certification - she needs them to send them to Occupational Health and Safety for the agency. - Copy of the Directors memo to the Regional Manager regarding the 86/87 budget deficit - Program Director reinforced the fact the supervisors have obtained an extraordinary accomplishment. - Director is trying to set up a work plan for a new organization - send your ideas directly to him. - Goal next year will "be to live within the new budget". - The notices for the termination for the house parent positions is still on the Deputy Minister's desk - "Deputy Minister is asking if there are any other jobs for them". - Job descriptions will have to be reviewed for the

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		supervisors and house parents. - Discussion on how surplus money and fixed assets could be used. - "In next year's budget more items are going down to the group home". - Booth display for Rick Hansen - rally for Rick Hansen. - Family singers available for singing in group home. - Get your open order requirements to the business manager by Friday. - Vacancies - the Regional Manager "is nervous about whether we will be able to fill or vacancies in the new year. He wants to start now" - "I need to look at the new scheduling first". - only one vacancy out of eight was proposed to be filled. - New schedules for three of the group homes were distributed with the supervisor presenting the advantages and disadvantages and the cost savings of the schedule.
February 26	between Management Committee and RM	- The purpose of the meeting was for RM to update the strategic managers and coordinate their expectations regarding the meeting with the Parents Advisory Committee (P.A.C.) tomorrow. - RM gave an update regarding the budget. "I think M. (the financial person from the regional office) took all your advise". - RM reinforced the idea that the group homes must become more autonomous to allow them to reflect the unique needs of the clients, however one of the program directors noted "we have become more similar" since the same staffing model (ten positions per home) was imposed on all the homes. RM's response was "you have evened it and now you have to uneven it". The managerial process required to do this was questioned and discussed but not resolved.

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		- Most of the meeting focused on the perceived concerns of the parents and what the role of the P.A.C. should be. - ED stated "I believe they won't a veto power". However both program directors were not convinced. "Lots of times, we don't hit all of the parents" "there were alot of parents [at the meeting] that did not speak out and were perplexed" - RM stated "we must define our partnership. ... They are not clear of their expectations, and not just their formal involvement. They see the frustration of the staff as well". - RM did acknowledge that the parents have a legitimate role as an advocate and reference group in the home but they felt they were to dependant on the staff. - The representativeness of the P.A.C. appearance was also brought into question. "Who are they representing? ... Are they committing the other parents to a particular point of view?" - ED felt "there is a core group of people who are energetic and bright. Most of the others don't care. They deal directly with their core worker and the home [about their child]." - Both program directors however felt that parents just wanted input. - The relationship between the parents and the staff was also questioned by RM "It is no longer 'mommy knows best'. It is now 'the staff know best'".
February 27	ASU	- Issues from passed management meeting were raised for information - those requiring fixed assets were told to see the business manager directly. - Transfer of some funds to group home budget. - Get your schedules to the director for him to send to personnel. - DATS maybe requiring attendance to accompany the clients. "Has anyone heard of this?" - no. - Vacancies reviewed - "I would like to recruit to all RP1 positions unless you have concerns. ... I'll talk to you individually". - The director "put together a memo to [Regional Manager] outlining the deficit

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		to date. Now you can also add the RP position the [Regional Manager] took yesterday". "I guess we got away easy" - "I picked three homes for Joel to concentrate on for his study. I sent you memos". - "I've received the document [Regional Manager] sent us on how to get around the position freezes. I'll discuss it when I talk with each of you". - Schedules - "get them into me". - The director "has set up a series of planning meetings we can discuss the budget and schedules there". - "Are these concrete task meetings or just shoot to the bull?". - "When are we getting the budget?" - business manager "got the unofficial numbers yesterday. She said it looks about what she had anticipated". - "We gave up fourteen full time positions, and received back fourteen half time positions. We gave up eight full time t.a positions and gave up stock keeper". - "The purpose of the planning meeting is to look at moving around the resources we have left to match the client's needs." - The day workshop "is asking for clients to stay home when they are short staffed [i.e., staff calling in sick]. I told her no. It's blowing our wage budget". - The director wants to know what would happen if the adult day program closed down all at once to allow their staff to take holidays at the same time. - "That would eliminate any client outings". "I'd rather see the clients change environments". "I'm concerned about helping a program thats going to the community anyway and adversely affecting the program that is staying".
February 27	Parent Advisory Committee	- The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the reorganization plan and budget reduction with the parents. RD (Regional Director) and RM (Regional Manager) attended this meeting to address any of the parents' questions.

questions. ED (the C.L.S. Executive Director) chaired the meeting.

- ED summarized events to date giving a rationale for the decision to reduce each group home by .5 house parents. "We rejected closing a group home. Instead, we thought we could make a new model work".
- RD reviewed the budget in global terms. "The 86/87 budget totalled six million one hundred ninety six thousand two hundred thirty eight. The 87/88 budget totalled six million one hundred thousand seven hundred sixty four. Thats about a ninety six thousand dollar cut which is approximately a drop of only one point five percent".
- Parents questioned why more administrative rather than group home staff could be cut. The positions were reviewed by RM.
- Parents wanted assurances that the changes were a "interior renovation and not a structural change"
- Parents stated their concerns. "We are worried about the future of our children. ... We are looking for stability. Is C.L.S. being dismantled from within? We are looking for some commitment and belief in the program [by the managers and the bureaucracy]".
- RD, RM and ED all assured the parents that the changes were designed to meet the budgetary restrictions by increasing the flexability of available manpower.
- Parents were asked for their opinion regarding a no smoking policy in the group homes. All parents agreed that their should be no smoking.
- The role of the P.A.C. (Parent Advisory Committee) was discussed. As stated by one parent "you had given dead lines. we had concerns. It seemed to us that you were going ahead with out our concerns. I agree that the management responsibility rests with the Social Services Department lets clarify our roles. Like with the smoking issue, you asked for our input. Now you go ahead and make the decision." This was reinforced by another parent "We were saying things and you were saying

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		things and it was already decided, so we had to get proactive."
March 3	Restrictive Procedures Committee	- The purpose of this meeting was to review the changes to a particular client's program to reduce aggressive behaviour that were made at the first meeting. The authors of the sixteen page document (operational level staff) were not present but represented three of the program specialists and the group home supervisor (managerial level). - All in attendance except ED were focused on the technical aspects of the program (eg. definitions, specific procedures, etc). ED's role appeared to be more to insure that the proper documentation had occurred.
March 6	ASU	- Staff transaction forms for general illnesses. - Check distances from headquarters to each group home for mileage claims. - Planning meeting scheduled for this afternoon - agenda: difficulties schedules, goals for 87/88. - Review attendance records for overtime. - Business manager prepared open orders for February. - Permission received for bulk hiring of five wage staff for Adult Services. - Adult day program - only have eight of fourteen staff working and need help - Adult Services will help them by providing them with wage help as much as possible. - Director sent a letter to i.a.2's indicating the removal of one hour paid meal break. - Program Director receives seven schedules and they have been forwarded to personnel for review. - Athletic club being set up for special olympics. - Joel will contact you for interview times. - Program director will be meeting with a food delivery service for people who are disabled. - Physiotherapist contract expires the end of March. Would like to develop a much more specific contract with them. - Meeting to discuss

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		schedules arranged for March 30.
March 6	Planning meeting with all the supervisors	- ED sentimental to all supervisory staff notifying them of four planning meetings (one per week). No agenda was distributed. - ED chaired the meeting. He started by stating "felt there was an obvious need to share the needs and plans for next year. ... What I wanted to do in this meeting was to sit down and stimulate each other regarding the issues and concerns. I would like to develop a comprehensive list of the issues, problems and concerns that we face because of the downsizing, cutbacks and reorganization. We need to meet more frequently." - ED did not have anything specifically planned for this meeting. He seemed to expect the supervisors and managers to give him a long list of issues. The children's services unit gave him three pages of written issues the day before. However, he did not focus on them. It seemed as if he just wanted to list the issues, not address them at this meeting. - He repeated several times that the tough decision had been made. Several times he asked for staff to list the issues which resulted from these cutbacks. However, almost every time his question was answered by silence. When ever the supervisors raised an issue that required an authoritative answer, he tended to reiterate something that RM (his boss) or RD had stated. - There appeared to be consensus that these were not the last cuts. That there would be more cuts in the coming year. - The Children's Services Unit supervisors and consultant tried to focus on the need to reexamine the values and mission statement of the organization. ED's response was that he thought the mission statement would stay the same. However he was willing to look at it. Several times the supervisors reiterated that the mission statement and values should be taken into consideration if budget cuts occur again. The implied feeling

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		was that the cuts were handled in isolation of the goals and mission statement of the organization. - [The other three meetings which were scheduled were eventually all cancelled one week at a time. ED stated that since no new issues arose during this meeting, that he did not see the need to continue with them.]
March 7	PAC	- ED distributed a copy of the terms of reference for the P.A.C... Discussions centered around clarifying the purpose, objectives and procedures to be followed by the Advisory Committee. - Specific issues were raised by the parents and alternate solutions suggested for problems with transportation (reduction of services throughout the city for handicapped persons), and staff shortages - Parents decided to write a letter of support requesting that no further front line staff be cut. - ED. distributed copies of the regional five year plan for the dependant handicapped. The parents decided to study it before commenting
March 10	CSU	- Continued discussing schedules and there advantages. - "I'd like to thank you for the flowers you sent me. They were really beautiful." - "What would you like to see happening in the planning meetings?" - discuss budget ("we weren't part of the planning process for our budget"). - Look at job descriptions. - Review last years goals. - Five year plan. - Parking issue. - Offices. - "We need to look at our values and mission statements" - should be a result of group discussion - "everything else will be compared to it". - "Bet the mission statement was just thrown out the window when they reduced the budget". - We're managing but its effecting staff moral. - "Some of the goals we didn't even look at last year. ... We ignored the organizational goals and did our own. This makes a farce of the planning process".

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		- The director "has said he is prepared for us to be a custodial model". - The Director "said the only goal for this year will be to live within the budget. Thats crisis management!" - "We should develop the purpose of the program first and then look at the budget and what it would allow us to do." - "We need a commitment from management. Are they going to dump it?" - "We will need strong organization in the meeting. They should be well-planned before hand". - "I checked during the break with [the business manager] and the budget is not here yet". - Rick Hansen is coming between 4:30 and 5:00 at gateway park. "Two of my staff have made a sign. It says 'You give us hope and we give you love'." - Letters were sent to the house parents concern expressed regarding the wording.
March 10	Management Meeting	- Discussed who should go to the "alternatives conference Program Directors gave top priority to those who were willing to pay their own way to the conference. The Director stated that the Regional Manager wanted ten to fifteen people to attend the conference from C.L.S.. - Discussion regarding how to meet manpower requirements while the hiring freeze is still in effect. Decided to hire through wages "otherwise P.P.T. [Personnel Placement Team] procedures come into play" - A lengthy discussion occurred regarding a planning process according to the director "about last Friday's meeting, I don't know what I was expecting, but there were issues sighted and I was aware of most of them. ... I would like all levels of staff to be involved in order to get everyone committed to working within the limits. I'd like to hear your thoughts and suggestions about the process. I don't think we need to stay with the Thursday meetings. I set them up as a p process but I'm no longer feeling as panicky. The big item is that the schedules should be ready by April 1. ... [Regional Manager himself

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		said he is prepared to allow us to make our own scheduled". - Discussion occurred regarding the best way to obtain input into the development of a strategic plan in case more cutbacks are requested after a lengthy discussion it was decided to have one of the program consultants run a half day workshop with representatives of parents and the staff as well as management to provide input for the formulation of a mission statement then "we need to determine the goals, then the tasks and evaluation measures". [Children's Services ED]. It was also decided to involve the parents "lets invite them to be part of the organizational system. You don't see it much in government operations - but it's o.k. with me. [Regional Manager and Regional Director] would want to know that they don't have the veto vote though". [Executive Director]. - Discussion also occurred regarding the group home budgets. "My supervisors are concerned with the budget and the schedules" [Adult Service Program Director]. "We won't get the budget until after the 20th - when it is released in the house [i.e., the legislature]". [Business Manager]. "I need time to split up the budget after I got it".
March 11	CSU	- Planning meeting for tomorrow is cancelled since personnel can't make it. - There will be a one day workshop on values and goals. - New expenditure report just received - "E.D. says it looks good". - BM (business manager) interrupted meeting to ask supervisors if they wanted her to do their ledger sheets like she did last year. All supervisors agreed. - BM examining costs of foods on a per diem base per group home and comparing with community agencies. - Six people have applied to attend an up coming conference. "People who are

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		paying their own way will be our first priority. We will have to cover off their positions in the homes." "My staff are trying to work it around there days off" (supervisor). - Permission received to hire five persons on wages - discussion occurred as to how the number was picked as opposed to the number of wage positions they really needed. - permanency of the positions questioned - "we could hire temporary cover off positions, but it is hard for permanent positions because abolishes have first choice". - "Don't make any promises because someone can step in [i.e., the P.P.T.. process]." "We should really make them put their money where there mouth is regarding atonomy" (supervisor). - The house parent positions will be terminated as of May 28. - "You may not be able to hire. They may give you someone. ... Lets be proactive and push it a little, if we know who we want." (PD). "We received a commitment from RM regarding atonomy. We should push it in these situations". (supervisor). - "The hiring freeze may be lifted on April 1" (PD). "If we don't have our wage staff, we will have to pay overtime" (supervisor). - Discussion on what criteria should be used to evaluate the new time schedules (eg. union contract, staff satisfaction, budgetary implementation, etc.). - Restrictive Procedures Committee - "I would like you or the author to attend and present the program [on your client]. It only makes sense". - Need to get staff satisfaction survey out to staff before the new schedule starts was discussed. - Discussion regarding results of the smoking survey. "I would sure like to see the smoking survey. I bet management made the decision even before they sent out the survey" (supervisor). "Yeah, one of the comments was 'when do we start urine tests'" (another supervisor).

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March 13	ASU	- B.M - "did anyone want me to do their ledger sheets like last year?" - everyone agreed. - Day program may be closing during the summer. Implications were discussed. - O.K. to start hiring wages. - Maybe some staff development money to send people to the conference. "I just assumed that with the restraints that we couldn't go" (supervisor). - Planning meeting time changed. - Pay community pharmacy wants doctors and not group home staff to phone in prescriptions. - Vacancies reviewed. With RP1 positions "because of the P.P.T.., I suggest that you put in a wage staff until times are better". - Vice President from a food service saw PD. Supervisors told they could try it out. - Supervisor mentioned that one cab company has two cabs with wheelchair lifts and are still charging regular rates. - Fixed asset needs reviewed since their was still some money left. - PD distributed information re job sharing. - "Whats this memo from ED regarding IA2's?" (supervisor). "I don't know, I just got it" (PD). - Discussion regarding problems with designing schedules. Decided to do them separately and then present them to their own group home staff. "Its difficult to the schedule before they give you the budget." (supervisor). "We also have to hammer this out with the union" (PD).